

The Art of Restoring.
OR, THE 1560/45.
PIETY and PROBITY^{or honest}
OF
General MONK

In bringing about
The Last RESTORATION,
Evidenc'd from his own
AUTHENTIC LETTERS:
With a Just Account of Sir ROGER,
Who runs the Parallel as far as he can.

IN A
LETTER
TO A
Minister of State, at the Court of Vienna.

Vendidit hic auro Patriam, Dominumque potentem
Imposuit: Reges fixit pretio atque refixit.
Virg. Georg. Lib 2.

The Second Edition.

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E R R A T A.

THE Oath in Page 29 was mistaken for that which the General
swore.



TO

Count GEORGE:

Which may serve for a *PREFACE.*

My Dear Kinsman,

Vienna, Jan. 2. 1714.

I Have often told you, that there's nothing like going to the Bottom of Affairs; which is the Reason that I, and one of my Correspondents in England, send Discourses to each other instead of Letters. We write the seldomer, it's true: but we receive the more complete Satisfaction, which rests a considerable time upon our Minds. As your Merit, Youth, and Relation, demand my utmost Care to form your Mind for the Courts of Europe; so you know, I am never wanting to communicate to you all the Political Pieces which in Prudence I may, if they have any Tendency to this Aim. That which I now send you, will serve at once to clear up a remarkable Transaction of the last Age, and to let you further into an important Intrigue of the present Time, which in several Respects are properly compar'd together. You are already sufficiently instrusted how much it concerns the publick Tranquillity, That the SUCCESSION of the House of HANOVER to the Crown of Great BRITAIN be maintain'd, as the only Way to fix a real Balance of Power, no less than to preserve all our Liberties against Universal Monarchy. But being yet a Stranger to England, you'll be apt to be unmaz'd at the stir they commonly make there about very private Men: how jealous they appear of their Words and their Conduct: and how such as these do often create more Uneasinesses, than the most potent of our Lords. This, as you'll understand of your self, must needs proceed from something peculiar to the CONSTITUTION of that Country, otherwise admirable: and where, in effect, Men of mean Estates and Figure (according to the Measure of their Parts, of their Craft, of their Zeal, or of their Confidence) have a stronger Influence, can more easily obtain a popular Leading, and are better capacitated to occasion more violent Commotions, than in any Government I know. Sir Roger, with whom I cultivated a Familiarity for some Years, and of whom I had once a much better Opinion, is one of this busy Species. The rest of his Character you'll learn in my Friend's Letter: for as to any private Transactions between us, tho' all to my Advantage (as han-

ving been ever firm to publick Liberty) yet they shall be Secrets still for me. But as to the British Constitution, the Mischief of it is, that when Men of a groveling Education come by Favour or Faction to fill the highest Posts; when these are likewise Perfect Strangers to foreign Affairs, tho never such adroit Expedient-mongers in their own narrow Sphere: then the Difference is immediately felt between their Administration and that of more exalted Spirits. Every thing is full of Disquiet and Suspicions, of Murmers and Confusion. Either their Reserv'dness, for fear of being eclipsed or supplanted by Rivals, makes 'em found their Schemes on too narrow a Basis: or their Indigence exposes 'em to the meanest Artifices, to the basest Treachery and Corruptions: or their Self-sufficiency leads 'em into precipitate, if not inextricable Measures: or their Pride, no less than their Insincerity, does render 'em odious and intolerable to all their Fellow Subjects: or, finally, their Ambition gets a Civil War, wherein they are ordinarily the first that suffer. Happy therefore is it for England, that Sir Roger is but a private Man of about 1500 Pounds a Year, hamper'd with Debts, and without any Alliances, unless he steals a Fortune for his Son, as he's plundering one in post-haste for himself: for I know him so intimately, that could be once get into Play (a Thing in that capricious State far from impossible) then all Europe must be made a propitiatory Sacrifice to the French King, whose Power and Gold he adores. But now being only at the Head of a few desperate Jacobites (which yet does terribly alarm my Correspondent, who stands in a nearer View of that Party and their Favoures) I leave you, Good Cousin, to inform your self at his Expence: nor can you be too careful in Perusing this Piece, since your first Trip is like to be into England. Let e'er you go, I cannot but observe to you, that my Friend cou'd have enlarg'd upon several Heads, had he writ to any Man that he suppos'd less acquainted with those Affairs than I am. As for Example, When he talks of the extraordinary Resort of Papists and Outlaws from France, and other Parts beyond the Seas, he cou'd have said, that the Lords made an Address to the Queen upon the like Occasion, in the first Year of her Reign (the Conjurure seeming to those Desperades then also favourable) and that a Proclamation was issued accordingly, to cause 'em depart the Kingdom, and to have the Laws against them put in Execution. He wou'd have told us what is become of Bernardi, Visconti, and the other execrable Assassins that were in Prison at the last Change of the Ministry; upon what Terms they were set at Liberty, and whether they had obtain'd a Pardon or not. He wou'd have written me word, that Colonel Parker's Wife is now in England, sollicitring her Husband's Return; for my Correspondent knows the numerical Persons to whom she has the most powerful

Recommendations ; and if you wou'd be inform'd who this Parker is ; tis the Man that with a Party of Horse was to bring off Grandval, had the Ruffian succeeded in his Attempt to murder King William in Flanders ; as he was afterwards one of those concern'd in the horrid Assassination Plot in England, for which he was committed to the Tower, tho' he found the Means to make his Escape from thence : having been thus doubly engag'd to take away the precious Life of Britain and Europe's Deliverer. Were it not for what I have already hinted, my Correspondent wou'd to Sir Patrick, and to the most worthy Yoke-fellows the peerless Arthur and Mat, have join'd Don Carlo Moro, Don Manuel Gillingham, and those other amazing Tools that Sir Rog. has pickt up from all Corners, and drawn out of their native Obscurity to do that for him, which no Englishman of Birth or Fortune will do ; and which is likewise the true Reason why he loves to prefer none but Scots Deserters wherever he has any Power, even to the utmost Indies. Another Omission in my Friend is, not to have told us who they are that in concert with the French, did not long ago invite the Turks into the Empire, which was both discover'd and prevented by the Czar : and how, in Pursuance of that Design, if Count Steinbock had prosper'd in Holstein, the Elector of Hanover's Territories were to be immediately invaded ; and consequently such a Flame of War kindl'd in lower Germany, that the French cou'd be at full Leisure to accomplish all the Projects they have concert'd with the Pretender's Adherents in Britain, without any Possibility for the Elector to come to her Majesty's Assistance. He might also have observ'd, that the new-erected Kingdoms torn from the Inheritance of our most August Master, are a direct Contradiction to the Hereditary Right maintain'd by Sir Roger's Friends in England, who yet highly approve those Alienations of another Prince's Dominions, during his own Life, and against his Consent. This shews, that either they have as little Honesty as Sir Roger himself, or that they see not an Inch before them. And indeed, since the World began, there never was a Party made up of so many Contradictions in their Principles and in their Practices, of so many Chimeras in their Religious and Political Tenets : So that if Sir Roger, after his Turn is serv'd, designs to leave them in the lurch (as tis a thousand to one he does) he cou'd never pitch on fitter Engines for his Purpose. Let him but constantly tick'e them with the Hopes of quickly seeing their Young Master, as the Slaves are wont to call the French Machine ; and then he may bring them hand over Head into any Measures, tho' ever so inconsistent with the very thing they so passionately desire. I have nothing to add to what my Friend says about Sir Roger's breaking his Faith with the Protestant Dissenters, but that among those plain dealing People his Credit

Credit is entirely lost to a Man; tho he hop'd for mighty things from their Resentment of the unworthy Usage they met with on a Signal Occasion from some mistaken Low-Church-men. But they are too wise to sacrifice their Country to any private Pique, much less to a false Step in Politicks; as they are too sedate to be precipitantly misled by Sir Roger, who, to my Knowledge, was suspected by them, long before the rest of the World were aware of his wily Pranks. When I happen'd to be last in England, it was one of these very Dissenters that first open'd my Eyes, tho not clearly enough, concerning him; and yet Sir Roger had but three Days before hypocritically slipp'd into this honest Man's Hand, a Paper of his Religious Experiences. I wish for your sake (dear Cousin) that when my Correspondent mention'd the villainous Traffick, which has been so often driven for French Money by the English Ministry, ever to the Detriment as well as to the Disgrace of their own Country, he had dwelt a little longer on that Subject, or that he wou'd still publish something about it. He need not go back to Philip de Comines, or other Authors, frequently and pertinently quoted to this Purpose; but confine himself wholly to the Reign of King Charles the Second, altho to our Sorrow this Traffick has not ended there. Among other Lights into this Matter, there's one Book that was sent me three Years ago, as good as a thousand. It was publish'd by the late Duke of Leeds, in his own Vindication, and I recommend it to your Perusal, as soon as you shall have acquir'd any tolerable Skill in the Language. There you'll see how wicked Ministers durst make infamous Propositions to the King himself, and which were as infamously accepted; he, instead of bravely holding the Balance of Europe, poorly becoming a Pensioner to the French King, who annually paid him three Millions of Livres, reduc'd at last to a hundred thousand Pistoles, with the Addition of one Million during a Mock-War, and the fallacious Promise of four Millions to be paid after an inglorious and destructive Peace. For such a paltry Sum (eaten out between the Ministers and the Remitters) was this weak Prince induc'd to act against his own apparent Interest; when the King of Sweden had two Millions and a half for not acting at all, which was by so much the less criminal. In this Book you'll further learn the Price that was to be paid for abandoning such a District or so many Towns in Flanders, which the King was not to insist on having restor'd, or not hinder from being taken: so much for relinquishing, or betraying, or menacing, or opposing the Confederates, just as it shou'd suit with the French King's Convenience; for one of those Ministers does fairly own, that the Opinion the French Court had then of us, and, as he further owns, not with-

without Reason, was, That they ought to have us do what they please, and they never to do any thing that we desire. There you'll also learn how a Lord Treasurer's Fortune was propos'd to be made, to help the Ruin of his Princes Allies, of his own Country and Religion. He was (to say it by the way) to be paid in Diamonds and Pearls, that no Body might ever come to the Knowledge of his Treachery, or at least not be able juridically to prove it. You'll see Proposals of great Advantage made by one Minister to another, if he wou'd use his Interest with the King to be content with lesser Sums from France, for thus the French cou'd afford the more to the Ministers. They take it for granted, says the one to the other, that it was your Advice that RAISED THE MARKET, which he affirms was the very Expression of the French; as another time we hear of lowering the Market, and again of raising the Price: To that shameless Degree of sordid Hagling and Prostitution, did the Ministers then arrive, which deservedly brought them into Abhorrence with all their honest Fellow-Subjects, as well as with the Germans, the Spaniards, and the Dutch. Nay, so conscious were they of the Infamy themselves, that one of 'em confesses this mercenary Temper had bred in the French a Contempt for the English Nation, and even for the King's Person, tho' he was so unhappy as not to believe it. Nevertheless you'll hear the other Minister wishing the King wou'd set a higher Value on his Power and Greatness, not to cudgel the French out of the said Contempt as the former says he propos'd, but to raise the Market still in proportion. So very much against Light, against Honour, against Duty to their Prince and Country, did these Men act in those Days (and wou'd to God it had been only in those Days) that tis acknowledg'd between them; First, that the King suffer'd in his own Affairs so much for the sake of France, as no Money cou'd recompense; and Secondly, that the Greatness of the King of France (*Nota Bene*) was supported only by their King's Connivance at what he did, and the good Will Christendom saw he had for him. And the French King himself was of Opinion, he had no where else so good a Security for the Support of his Prerogative (that is, of his Tyranny) as the Friendship of the King of England. And I am as firmly perswaded, as I live, that for all the French King's Arbitrary Power, he wou'd never have ventur'd on reducing the Interest due to his Subjects, on the Annuities of the Town-house of Paris, as he has done t'other Day, without relying on the Invasion of some foreign Power, as that Power on the like Occasion may expect his Assistance. But not to leave our Book yet, there you'll perceive there were P——ts too, with which the French cou'd do what they pleas'd; and this sometimes to such a Degree,

as to turn them against those Wretches, by whose Means they got them corrupted. Finally, there you'll learn another Method of sending French Money to England, besides the way of Diamonds, or Pearls, or the ordinary Remittances; either when the Remitters were not to be trusted, or the Sums so great that some Notice must be taken: and this was, by putting Wedges of Gold into Bales of Silk, the Silk being probably design'd a Present for the Court-Ladies. I have read this Lecture to you, Cousin, out of that Book, that you might be the better able to judge of such things by the like Symptoms, at a proper Juncture. As for your Conduct in England, after fore-warning you not to believe of any Party, according to the Representation of their Adversaries or their own Professions, but absolutely by their Conduct and Actions; so I give you but one Rule, which I dare promise, will never fail you; that he's the best English-man, who's the heartiest against France. Whig and Tory, High and Low Church, will often deceive you; some of these being worse, as others are better, than the Maxims of their Party wou'd make them: but the now-mention'd Rule is ever infallible, and therefore he's no Whig (let him call himself what he pleases) who any way consents to augment the Power or Riches of France; nor is the Man a Tory in the least, who contributes as much as he can to diminish or destroy them. Now as tis easy for both to profess an Aversion to the French, which every true Englishman ought to do; so he's in earnest (and be only) who's against enlarging the French TERRITORIES, or advantaging their COMMERCE. Touching my Opinion how the Senate, that was last assembl'd in a certain Country, cou'd ever be brought by the subtlest Artifices to approve of those Measures, which you rightly say are so highly derogatory to their repeated Engagements with other Nations, so visibly contrary to their own Reputation, Prosperity, and Safety, I refer you for a Solution to the Question and Answer in the old Roman Poet.

Cedò, qui vestram Rempublicam tantam
Amisisti tam citò?
Proventabant Oratores novi,
Stulti, adolescentuli.

*How cou'd your State, so glorious once and great,
In such short time fall to Contempt and Ruin?
By a vile Crew of upstart Politicians,
By hair-brain'd Boys, and empty-nodd'l'd Speech-makers.*

KINSMAN, Adieu.

P. S. Our common Toast here is, To the Papists of Catalonia and the Protestants of Ireland.

The

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The Art of Restoring.
OR, THE
PIETY and PROBITY
OF
General Monk, &c.
IN A
LETTER
TO A

Minister of State at the Court of Vienna.

London, August 20. 1713.

My LORD,

A S that Letter is in my Opinion too long, which contains one Line more than the Matter requires; and too short, if it contains one Word less: So I shall make no Apology for the time, which the reading of this present Letter will take from your more weighty Affairs; since, if it proves to be time lost, you must only blame your self,

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(12)

self. I have but strictly follow'd the Rule propos'd by you at the first settling of our Correspondence : to be as concise as I wou'd upon any Subject, except the *SUCCESSION* to our Crown in the House of HANOVER, about which I cou'd never, you said, write too much nor too minutely. If this was true at that time, it is no less so now, and infinitely more necessary. But you are not aware, my Lord, that the *HANOVER SUCCESSION* is come to be look'd upon by many here, as a thing wherein your Court is no way concern'd ; at least that we shou'd not be concern'd, whatever your Court may think about it.

The *Jacobites*, and their secret or open Abettors (who are in a sworn Conspiracy against this *SUCCESSION*, and whom therefore in the Sequel of my Letter I shall call the *Conspirators*) have in their numerous Libels, as in the *Conduct of the Allies* and such others, plainly insinuated a Design to alter the *SUCCESSION* as by Law establish'd, which from Men of that Complection affords no Matter of Wonder : but 'tis matter of Meriment enough, to hear them and their Friends pretending it to be absurd, that a *Popish* Emperour shou'd have been made one of the *Guarantees* to the Protestant *SUCCESSION* at the Treaty of the *Hague*, when the King of *France* (who is no less a *Popish*, and something that's worse) is declar'd a *Guarantee* of the same *SUCCESSION* in the Treaty of *Utrecht*, which they all highly applaud, and which for that very Reason I can never approve. What is more ridiculous still, they readily acquiesce in this new and unexpected *Guarantee*, when but some Weeks before they quarrell'd with the *Dutch* for being *Guarantees* at all, and in fewer Weeks after they fix'd a Mark of their Aversion upon the very Word *Guarantee*, after so extraordinary a manner as can never be forgot. But how much soever you may be persuaded, my Lord, of the Truth of that Religion we call *Popish*, as I am no less firm in the Profession of that you call *Protestant*; yet this is a Business that properly concerns our Souls without any Difference in our Politicks, which are equally interested in the Preservation of *PUBLICK LI-*

LIBERTY. Papist and Protestant therefore are quite out of the Question of the *Guarantyship*: but German and French are absolutely material, signifying no more, nor no less than the Liberty or Slavery of Europe, the perpetual Friends or the perpetual Enemies of Great Britain: and I defy Sir Roger himself, who is the best read of all the Conspirators, to produce any one Alliance we ever made with France, unless you except the last, that did not prove to our extreme Detriment, Weakning, and Infamy; while I am prepar'd to show, on the other hand, that our Engagements of old with the House of Burgundy, and since that with the House of Austria, were generally founded on Principles of Justice and Honour, and turn'd in the End to our great Advantage, Reputation, and Power. Now then as for the Conspirator's idle Distinction, 'tis notorious that neither of the last Wars were undertaken on a Religious Account, but professedly for our Independency, or rather for our very Being, in the several Articles of Government, Trade, and Alliances. They are but the Visionaries of both sides that are for equalling or intermixing their own abstracted Imaginations (widely different, God knows, from true Religion) with the eternal Principles of Liberty and Property.

Besides this common Concern of Safety between the Emperour and us, against the Danger of being en-slav'd by our common Enemy; the Conspirators wou'd fain have People ignorant, that as the Elector of Hanover is universally acknowledg'd to be one of the most considerable Members of the Empire, so the Emperour is known to be related to him by more than one Tye of Blood. They wou'd have us forget, that the Three Empresses now alive under one Roof, a thing not a little extraordinary, are all of his Family, which is as extraordinary: that the Emperour Leopold's Consort Eleonora, is of the Palatine House, his Mother's; that the Emperour Joseph's Consort Amalia, is his Uncle's Daughter, Duke John Frederick; and that the present Emperour's Consort Elizabeth, is Grand-daughter to the Duke of Wolfembuttle, a principal Branch of his House. These are Tyes

of Blood that his Highness can mention with a better Grace, than the *French* King did lately to Her Majesty, who, by his Ambassador, to the Astonishment of all good Protestants, demanded the Punishment of a *Church of England* Minister, for what he had preach'd during the War against *French* Persecution. But not to dwell longer on the Interest which the Emperour has in the Elector of *Hanover*, as he's a *German* Prince, and so near a Kinsman, the very Conspirators will not so far expose themselves, as to deny that his *Imperial* Majesty is not a little concern'd, to understand with what Inclinations a Prince does fill the *British* Throne; and especially, if he can help it, that such a Prince be not partial to the *French* Nation, govern'd by *French* Counsels, nor under private Engagements to the *French* King, as was the late King *James*: and much more, that he be not educated from his Cradle in *French* Principles, nor under such vast Obligations to the *French* King, as to be properly his Retainer and Creature, which is precisely the Case of the present PRETENDER. The Profession of the same Religion did not hinder *Leopold*, of glorious Memory, from joining against *James* the Second, for saving of the *Empire* and all *Europe*; no more than it did his Son *Joseph* afterwards, or it does his other Son *Charles* at this time, from heartily joining for the same good Ends, against the Person who stiles himself *James the Third*, and who was encourag'd to usurp this Title upon Her Majesty, by his Protector, *Lewis the Fourteenth*.

But the Conspirators, when they can't deny the Emperour's Inclination or Interest to yield Assistance to the House of *Hanover*, whenever they shall need it; yet, to keep up the Spirits of their Party, they affirm that his *Imperial* Majesty neither is, nor ever can be, in a Condition to do that *SUCCESSION* any Service, nor consequently any hurt to themselves. You'll never hear them speak otherwise on this Topick of the *SUCCESSION*: and nevertheless, when the Discourse is about *France*, then this very same Emperour is by much too powerful, the House of *Austria* is an over-match for the House

House of *Bourbon*; so that *Spain* and the *Indies* ought of Necessity (according to them) to have been thrown into the Scale of the latter, not to outweigh but to balance the former. It signifies nothing to make it as clear as noon-day, that the House of *Austria* was never yet a Match for that of *Bourbon*, and that it is less so now than ever, by reason that the Circumstances both of *Germany* and *France*, are quite alter'd since the time of *Charles the Fifth*; the Power of the Nobles being entirely abolish'd in *France*, and that of the *Princes* being vastly increas'd in *Germany*. It signifies as little to show, how it appears in Fact at this very Instant, that the Balance of *Europe* does more effectually preponderate in the Scale of *France*, than it came to do by the preposterous Politicks of *Oliver Cromwell*, who made this false Step purely to support himself, tho to the infinite Damage of all *Europe*. But *Oliver* was not the Beginner of this infamous Trafick; for whenever a strict Alliance or Endearment (above the common Course of Treaties) appears between *France* and our *Ministers*, then the Nightingale is not a more certain Sign of the Spring, than that these *Ministers* are playing some wicked Game at home, doing something detrimental or dishonourable to their own Country, for which they are to be pay'd by the Money of *France*, and in which they hope to be supported by its Power. I need not trouble you with Particulars, for you cannot produce one Instance to the contrary.

To leave *Oliver* then, where ever he is, to come to the Conspirators (who may be with him sooner than they desire) they are deaf, they are blind, they are dumb, when you demonstrate that *France* and *Spain* are more strictly united than ever, that not only their Councils and Arms do visibly run in one Channel, but also their immense Treasure, tho we are yet ignorant, how much of this last has been distributed to their dear Friends for their good Services. It seems they are to fish for some of it in the Latitude of — But be it how much, or how little soever you please, the *Jacobites* are of so giving a Humour in return of what they got or may get, that,

not

not content to give away the ancient Honour, Justice, and Faith of *Britain*, and to be mighty liberal (like their good Allie the Pope) of what's none of their own ; they are at last for parting with the only thing that was left, I mean our TRADE. This unvaluable Trade, this only Source of all our Riches, this only Means to pay our Rents, this only Support of our Poor and Nee-dy, this only Fund to entertain Fleets and Armies, this only Defence against all our Foes : this Trade, I say, they are as so many *felos de se*, and in direct Opposition to the unanimous and loudly declar'd Sense of the whole Nation (a thing never hitherto attempted by the most desperate) for execrably sacrificing to the *French King* ; that after he's become Master of the Commerce of *Europe*, he may then without any Difficulty become Master likewise of its Territories. This is an unanswerable Demonstration, and a more certain, cheap, and expeditious Method, than any of those which he has hitherto practis'd, and which have only fail'd him because others had Money as well as himself. But this Point of Commerce does so essentially concern the very Well-being of every particular *Briton*, no less than the Wealth, Power, and Security of the whole Nation, that we have reason to hope they will as soon part with their Lives as with any Branch of it ; and, that if they are put to it, they will use those that wou'd give away their Trade as those that wou'd take away their Lives.

Now to return to the Emperour (tho Trade is no such Digression, as some may imagine, from the *SUCCESSION*) all that wish well to the House of *Hanover*, do consequently wish well to his *Imperial Majesty*, and daily put up their Prayers to Heaven for Success to his Arms ; without which, humanelly speaking, they look upon the Liberties of *Europe* to be at an end. The *SUCCESSION* at least is safer while his Sword is drawn, and busying the Arms of *France*, than it cou'd possibly be otherwise : and perhaps this is one of the chiefest things that saves the *SUCCESSION* at present, which is so well known to the Enemies of it, that they have done more, and shew'd more Concern to force the *Germans* and the *Dutch* into

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a Peace, than they did with relation to the *English* themselves. But what do I talk of Peace ? have they left any thing unattempted to procure their utter Destruction ? for so long as the *Empire* and the *States* are capable of making any Opposition, they'll never, for their own sakes, suffer the *French* King quietly to place his Vice-roy on the Throne of *Great Britain* ; and the Conspirators are therefore fully determin'd to break their Power, and have, as I said, done all that depended upon them, as well by private Treachery as by open Violence, to bring about their Ruin. Such well-meaning People as did not at first understand this Secret (and their Number was not inconsiderable) were amaz'd for some time past at the Conduct of the Conspirators towards these our faithful Allies ; but having once got this Key, by which to decypher their Actions, they now perceive their drift as clear as the Sun, and that those several Measures which they formerly thought to be hasty, inconsistent, and even chimerical, were maturely weigh'd, all of a piece, and perfectly well adapted to the end the Conspirators design'd : so that nothing at this time is more commonly or better understood, than that those who rail at the *Germans* and the *Dutch*, are implicitly or explicitly engag'd in the Interest of the PRETENDER ; and wou'd therefore gladly weaken or destroy the only Foreign Powers that are both able and willing to oppose him.

Upon this occasion give me Leave to tell you in plain terms, my Lord, that no Man is more deeply embark'd in this pernicious Design than your Friend Sir Roger. I do not forget that you have already chid me more than once for only insinuating thus much : but as you are likewise convinc'd, that I have not done it without being entirely persuaded of the Truth of it, and consequently not without some Grounds ; I did, upon your requesting me so to do, send you an ample Deduction of those Grounds, confirm'd by my own Observations, no less than by the general Belief of all the well-affected in these Kingdoms. Upon this, you were pleas'd to acknowledge your self, that Sir Roger was endow'd with certain Qualities

lities that demanded he shou'd be well look'd after ; as
that he was the greatest Master of *Dissimulation* you ever
knew, were it not that it became so habitual to him,
that he cou'd do nothing without some Trick ; and that
he so far affected a mysterious Proceeding in the plainest
matters (in which he judg'd of others by himself) that,
in the first place, whatever he did was suspected to have
another End than what he publickly avow'd : and that,
in the second place, the surest way to deceive him was
to tell him the naked Truth, which he thinks no Man
capable of doing, and so is sure to take his Measures
accordingly. You gave me a very substantial Reason,
why he has hitherto suffer'd so little on this account ;
acknowledging further, that under an outward Shew of
Plainness, which, in good part, was caus'd by his for-
mer narrow Circumstances, he inwardly cherish'd such
a Pitch of *Ambition*, as nothing cou'd exceed but his
Pride (if these Qualities admit of a Distinction) insomuch
that, not content to be perpetually running over
the Pedegrees of those Families with whom he claims Al-
liance (a thing perhaps not unbecoming him as an Anti-
quary) he has sometimes carried this humour so far, as to
let certain of his Friends see, how by another Sir Roger,
who by the way came to be hang'd, he was related forsooth
to the Crown, which does at least make manifest his in-
tolerable Vanity. And what is yet more remarkable, he
us'd to be showing this extravagant Title as antecedent to
that of the *Stuarts*, at the same time that he was the bu-
fiest of all Men, with the utmost Falsity and Malice, to
infuse Jealousies of the Duke of *Marlborough*'s becoming
General for Life. This is, in reality, tho' not in Name,
the same thing with *Protector*, and a Thing the Duke's
Friends abhor'd the most of all others ; being to a Man
perfectly devoted to the Queen, to the House of *Hano-
ver*, and, in one word, to our legal Constitution. But
were it really so, that the Duke had entertain'd such a
Thought, as it is (on the contrary) the most villainous
Asperion for which the least colour was never produc'd,
yet the aspiring to such an extraordinary Post wou'd be
nothing in comparison of aspiring to the Crown ; since
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in the first case the Crown might possibly be secur'd to the House of *Hanover*, whereas they, and all the other Claimants, must have been totally set aside in the last Case.

This Pride therefore, and this Ambition of *Sir Roger*, who conceiv'd himself to be neglected, you still granted, my Lord, was the Cause of his crossing every good Motion in King *William's Reign*, as his Tricking and Diffimulation kept that wise King from ever trusting him. 'Tis strange then that you cannot yet see, how the same Pride and Ambition did since pave the way for *France* to make those prosperous Attacks upon his Integrity, thro the Breach of his Indigence, which upon an honest and virtuous Heart wou'd prove unsuccessful, under the lowest Degree of Poverty. But this same terrible Poverty is a Condition, that such Men as *Sir Roger* esteem to be the utmost Unhappines; which Opinion does as naturally render them corrupt and mercenary, as the same Pride and Ambition makes them implacably revengeful, of which the *Germans* and the *Dutch* have woful Experience: and this in a manner I need not be particular in explaining to you, no more than the Reason of it, which is absolutely personal; and consequently not to be imputed to the *British Nation*, that wishes as well as ever to these our *Natural Allies*, as I may very properly call them. Nor ought this Usage of Strangers appear extraordinary, when all those of his own Country, by whom he conceiv'd himself to be any way injur'd, have severely felt the Effects of the same vindictive Disposition.

For the rest, you frankly confess, what no Mortal can deny (who is not an absolute Stranger to what has happen'd for these twenty Years past) that tho' *Sir Roger* made no Scruple of Swallowing all Oaths, yet he generally herded and voted with the disaffected Party in the House of Commons, and out of it gave Countenance and Protection to *Hickes*, *Lesley*, *Ferguson*, *Bedford*, with such other declar'd *Jacobites* and *Traytors*, under the Pretence of favouring Learning; while he convers'd with none of the much more learned lovers of Liberty, except a very few whom he could not suddenly cast off,

by reason of old acquaintance, and in order to have it still believ'd by honest Men, that, whatever part he might think fit to act for the present, he had not quite forgot the good Education given him by his Family, nor his own former Professions. And, in effect, this succeeded so well with him, that not a few were deceiv'd with his Hypocrisy, Promises and Protestations costing him nothing. Nay, so willing were People to deceive themselves, in believing him the honest Man they wisht him to be, that they often sav'd him the labour of an Apology for his then unaccountable Conduct : they giving out that he join'd with the Conspirators in Points of lesser Moment, that he might induce them to vote in their turns with him, for all essential points relating to the publick Good. In discourse with such as these, he had this otherwise true observation ever in his mouth ; that *since it is improbable a majority of good and disinterested men shou'd be found in a numerous popular Assembly, their particular Interests and Passions must be so manag'd as to get them to give good Votes.* But some of his old Friends began to be undeceiv'd, when, in the Year 1708, it appear'd by certain Transactions, to which you are no stranger, that he had all along a private understanding with the Court of France ; and the rest, who were loth to think the worst of any Man without irresistible conviction, had all their doubts dispell'd, and their eyes sufficiently open'd, by the Measures he has pursu'd without any Disguise, since the Year 1710, to this moment of time.

You cannot deny, My Lord, but that now and then you have own'd the Appearances were ugly enough ; you wish'd your friend Sir Roger's conduct had been a little clearer, since Honesty is found to be the best Policy : but you still insist upon it, that he's bound by so many solemn Oaths and Engagements ; that he has made so many Protestations, both at home and abroad, publickly and privately, of his inviolable Affection for the Protestant Succession as by Law establish'd ; that he has given the illustrious H. of Hanover so many Promises and Assurances under his own Hand ; that he has done so many other

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other things, needless to enumerate, incompatible with the hopes of the *Pretender*, besides his Letters in confidence to your self, and to many other Ministers: that you can never be persuaded he can possibly recede with Safety any more than with Honour; and that indeed you can't believe any *Englishman* whatsoever (a Nation famous for their Candour) capable of being so consummate a Dissembler. I thank you, my Lord, for the good opinion you have always had of our Nation; and as for receding with Honour, 'tis a sign you know not your Friend so well as you imagine, when you mention Honour and Him with the same Breath: a man that never spoke a Syllable of direct Truth in his Life, that never made a Promise without a double meaning. Tho' his Head is naturally muddy, yet the confusion and ambiguity of his expressions proceeds as much from Design as from Nature, that he may be bound by nothing; and so, as it may suit his Convenience, be able to slip his Neck out of the Collar, as to all obligations. As for his Promises, therefore and his Protestations, they are sure to be deceiv'd who are weak enough to trust to 'em; and so may all of you be as sure, to whom he writes his long canting Letters, of which, when his turn is serv'd, he'll make no manner of account, but sneer and laugh in your faces, insulting you after his bantering way, for being so easily made his Property.

But you say, he has done many things incompatible with the interest of the *Pretender*; to which I answer, by readily granting it, and adding withal, that exactly such has been the conduct of every Traitor from the beginning of the World: for without complying with the Forms establish'd, they cou'd never get into Credit, nor consequently obtain the Power of doing the mischief they intended. Thus, not to go abroad for examples, King *Charles* the second, in his exile, gave permission to many of his Friends, and particularly to Admiral *Montague* (as you may see in my Lord *Clarendon's* History, which I sent you last year) to engage in the Service of the *Parliament*, that first they might have the Power, and next watch the Opportunity of betraying

this same Parliament, as afterwards they did: and thus many Friends to the Pretender have, upon the very same Principle, taken every Oath, even *the Oath of Abjuration*; and their atheistical distinctions to prove the lawfulness of such a behaviour are so publickly known, that I hope very few will be deceiv'd by those men, whose actions are so evidently repugnant to their professions. But I protest, my Lord, I am ashame'd to think I have need of alledging examples to man of your universal reading, to a man who never reads but to be the wiser for it, and who compares all he reads with his own experience. Yet the Examples to be so frequently read in books would have been much fewer, if those that came after had always before their eyes the management of those that preceded them, and so had govern'd themselves accordingly, which is the chief end of reading History: for mankind is ever the same, tho' present passion hinders too many from considering it, and strongly disposes them to hope what they wish, namely, that their own case may prove an exception to the general Rule. 'Tis this Hope of unexampl'd impunity that emboldens all *single Ministers*. Lest your Lordship then should, from the generosity of your Nature, judge of all other men's intentions by the sincerity of your own, I take the Liberty to trouble you with one example which comes up to all the Difficulties you have put, of Speeches, Letters, Promises, Engagements, and what not of that kind? all which the person was resolv'd before-hand to break thro and violate, without any regard to the Fear of God, or the Reproaches of Man.

When I tell you that this Person was General Monk (between whom and Sir Roger several comparisons may be very naturally made) I am confident you will not infer that I am angry with him for being so instrumental in bringing about *the Restoration* of the Royal Family, which I have ever look'd upon as an inestimable Blessing to these Nations, involv'd at that time in the confusion of Anarchy, which is a far worse State than the worst of Governments: nor cou'd they ever, in my opinion, be thankful enough to God for their Deliverance from a horrid

horrid Usurpation and a Military Power, this last being of all Tyrannies the most cruel and insupportable. But it follows not, my Lord, that I approve any wicked means that conduc'd to this happy end, no more than *David* did the successive Murthers of *Abner* and *Mephiboseth*, which yet added ten Tribes of *Israel* to the two which then only constituted his Kingdom. Our present Case, 'tis true, is extremely different from what it was in the Year 1659, just as different as Light is from Darkness. We are under the most noble, free, and legal Constitution in the Universe, whether the Dignity of the Prince, or the Ease of the Subject be consider'd : every particular man, and all communities of men, are as secure in the enjoyment of their Property and Privileges as the Queen is in her Imperial Throne, and in the Use of her Prerogatives for the Good of her Subjects : the ancient Laws and Customs of these Realms obtain their due course and vigour, being in many instances rectified or reinforc'd since the Constitution was rescu'd from the invasions made upon it by the late K. *James* ; and still capable, by the frequency of *Parliaments*, to have the remaining Defects occasionally amended or supplied, which is an advantage peculiar only to free Governments : our Religion, as reform'd from the Priestly Tyranny and Popular Superstitions of *Rome* (you'll indulge me in the frankness we have promis'd each other on this head) the Protestant Religion, I say, is amply secur'd under every circumstance ; both as to the Church establish'd by Law, which is highly favour'd in its Emoluments, and as to the tolerated Sects who are tenderly indulg'd in their Dissent, they being no less Protestants, nor less good Subjects than any others : and all this provided in the best manner to be transmitted to Posterity, by the Succession and Limitation of our British Crown in the most Serene Electoral House of *Hanover*. For the preservation of this Establishment, as it regards the welfare of *Europe*, we know you of *Germany*, my Lord, are no less zealously concern'd than we ourselves, whatever is suggested to the contrary by our Fanatical Jacobites ; who prefer their own ridiculous, im-
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practicable Notions of Church and Government to the Peace and Prosperity of Society, which are never to be sacrific'd to any set of Notions, tho ever so much better grounded than theirs. Pope *Odescalchi* was infinitely a better friend to mankind than these wild Enthusiasts ; since he generously preferr'd the Liberty of Europe to the Conversion of three Kingdoms, one of which us'd to be stil'd of old the *Pope's Exchequer*.

But we ought never to be too secure. The same flagitious methods that have been practis'd for private ends to change a bad Government into a good one, are more likely to be practis'd for the same selfish ends, to change a good Government into a bad one. And it is notorious to all the World, that, notwithstanding the regular and happy state I have been now describing, there is not only a party in these kingdoms who openly refuse to swear Allegiance to the Queen, or to acknowledge the *Hanover Succession*; but that likewise there are many others, who, tho they have taken the usual Oaths, are well known to be disaffected to the said *Succession*: insomuch that the *Pretender*, relying on their united force, as well as on the assistance of the *French King* and *Don Philip*, has often contriv'd, and once attempted, to dethrone her most sacred Majesty. For these Reasons, therefore, and for diverse others relating to our religious and civil Liberty, I shall set this instance of *Monk* in a better and truer light than it has hitherto appear'd, that it may serve as a Beacon to keep our selves and our Allies from the like Shipwreck, by trusting too much to the Declarations of those whose deeds run quite contrary; who talk abundantly like Friends, but who treat us all like Enemies.

I am not ignorant how many are of opinion, that *Monk*, when he begun his march from *Scotland*, had no design to restore the King, nor even a good while after, till he found at last that he cou'd play no game that was more beneficial for himself. My Lord *Clarendon* (whose sixteenth book I shall often quote) does more than once insinuate this, and that the disposition which grew afterwards in him, did arise from diverse unforeseen

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een accidents, which led and oblig'd him to bring in
the King. The old Lord Shaftsbury is still more posi-
tive, and, in the *Memoirs relating to his Life*, publish'd
among the posthumous Works of his Friend Mr. Locke,
he assures us, that Monk had agreed with the French
Ambassador to take the Government on himself, Maza-
rine liberally promising to support him ; as who knows
but Sir Roger has the same promises of assistance, when-
ever he sets up by virtue of the title we mention'd be-
fore : but that Monk's wife, who was devoted to the
Royal Cause, and suspecting something of this business,
had posted her self behind the hangings, where she over-
heard the overtures of the Ambassador, which she over-
heard the straight discover'd to Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper (after-
wards Lord Shaftsbury) to whom she had promis'd be-
fore to watch her Husband, and who prevented the In-
trigue in the manner he there relates, to the disappoint-
ment and disgrace of the Ambassador. But with all de-
ference to his Lordship's fame, and to the judgment of
such as may be still of the same opinion, I shall make
bold to differ from them in this particular. I shall not
insist on the Eves-dropping of the Wife and the carelessness
of the Ambassador, when Monk was to the full as
dark, as close, and as suspicious a man as Sir Roger
himself : neither will I ask hard Questions about many
other improbable circumstances express or under-
stood in this account, whereof the Lord Hollis says not
a word in his *Memoirs* : no more will I admire at the
exquisite foresight of Sir Anthony Ashley, or shew the
interest he had afterwards to have this Story believ'd. It
deserv'd a Title at least. But I shall give as clear a de-
duction as I can of this whole affair (as far as it con-
cerns my purpose, and without forgetting your friend
Sir Roger) from Monk's own letters, which you will
not deny to be the most authentick Vouchers, and which
I have now before me on the table. Or, if after all it
shou'd appear most probable, that Monk design'd to set
up himself ; yet his Perfidy, Hypocrisy, and Perjury,
will be still equally manifest, and serve to confirm us in
the old Observation, that *the intentions of men are better*

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guesst by their actions than by their professions. This, my Lord, is the Moral I wou'd have inferr'd from the following Story, as well by your self as by all those to whom you may think fit to shew this Letter : nor will it be counted too long, whether you consider your own direction, or that this important fact was never yet so clearly explain'd.

Monk had, like Sir Roger, been of all parties, till at last he came to enjoy great Power and Authority in the party opposite to that wherein he was educated. He was become Oliver's Confident, who left him General of all the Forces in *Scotland*, and I may say his Deputy in that new Province, which for several years he govern'd with a high hand, showing little favour to the Royal party, till the Death of the Usurper, on the third of Sept. 1658. You know, my Lord, how that indolent pusillanimous creature, his Son *Richard* was proclaim'd Protector, without any opposition ; how he impolitickly call'd a *Parliament*, which he was more impolitickly prevail'd upon soon after to dissolve, upon an *Address* he receiv'd by his Brother in law *Fleetwood* from the Army; and how this Army, upon the *Parliament's* designing to meet, pursuant to their adjournment, without taking any notice of *Richard's* Proclamation, kept the Members out of the House by Guards they had set at the doors. You know likewise that the *Council of Officers* of this Army dismiss't *Ingoldsby*, *Whalley*, *Goffe*, and all other Commanders, who were dissuading *Richard* from submitting to their Advice. The next step they made was to restore the surviving Members of the *long Parliament*, expell'd by force in the year 1653, and directed this *Rump* after what manner to govern the Republick, which was indeed to govern it themselves : but yet, tho' they issued no writs to supply vacancies, they wou'd let none take place in the House, except those who had sat between Jan. 1648 and April 1653, excluding the rest after their wonted manner by Guards.

This *Parliament* depos'd the spiritless degenerate *Richard*. Monk from *Scotland*, and the Navy on the Coast, own'd their Power ; but the Army under *Lambert* sends 'em

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them a certain *Petition and Proposals*; upon discountenancing of which, together with the *Representation* that follow'd it, they did, on the 12th of *October*, keep the *Parliament* from Meeting, seizing upon the Speaker in his way to the House, and sending him back to his own. Then they chose a number of Persons, who, under the Title of the *Committee of Safety*, took upon them the Government at present, and were to determine to what Form of Government it was convenient the Nation shou'd submit for the future. This *Committee* did forthwith dispatch Colonel *Cobbet* into *Scotland*, to persuade *Monk* to concur with them; tho' they had little Confidence of Success, by reason of the Emulation between *Lambert* and him; and therefore *Cobbet* had it in his Instructions to work as dextrously as might be upon the Officers of his Army, to whom a plausible Letter was sent by some Officers at *Whitehall*, who quickly receiv'd a substantial Answer to their sophistical Pretences. But the *Parliament*, before they were put under the Force now mention'd, had already written to *Monk* to take Care his Army shou'd not be corrupted; and he receiving the News of that Violence, writes a Letter to the Speaker *Lenthal*, on the twentieth of *October*, wherein he desires to know whether this Force did still continue; for I am resolv'd (says he) by the Grace and Assistance of God, as a true Englishman, to stand to and assert the Liberty and Authority of PARLIAMENT. Then, after giving them Assurances of his Army, and that he had purg'd it of such Officers as he suspected, I call God to witness, continues he, that the asserting of a COMMON-WEALTH is the only Intent of my Heart.

He wrote a Letter of the same Date to *Fleetwood*, boldly complaining of the Force put upon the *Parliament*, and desiring they might be speedily restor'd to their former Freedom: otherwise, says he, I am resolv'd by the Assistance of God, with the Army under my Command, to declare for them, and to prosecute this just Cause to the last Drop of my Blood. He tells him how in the room of such Officers whose Hearts fail'd them, or who upon any other Motive were not willing to act (hero-

we have Sir Roger to a Hair) he had, by virtue of his Commission from the Parliament, constituted such as were cheerful for this *GOOD OLD CAUSE*: and I do plainly assure your Lordship (says he) that I was never better satisfied in the Justice of any Engagement than in this. You cannot but remember that God hath already shew'd himself Glorious in it, and determin'd the Quarrel on this side (that is, by vanquishing the late King) against the arbitrary Power of raising Money without the Peoples Consent first had, and the Management of the Militia by any other than the Parliament. I desire your Lordship not to be deluded by the specious Pretences of any ambitious Person whatsoever, and do not bring all the Blood that will be shed upon your own Head. My Lord, consider how you will answer to the dreadful God for the Ruin of three Nations to serve a Lust, or to gratify a Passion. For my particular, I am ashamed of these Confusions and Changes we have made, that we are now become a Scorn and Reproach to our very Friends, and design'd to Ruin by all our Neighbours. I take God to witness, that I have no further Ends than the establishing of Parliamentary Authority, and those good Laws that our Ancestors have purchas'd with so much Blood, the settling the Nations in a free Common-wealth; and the Defence of Godliness and godly Men, though of different Judgment; and I take my self so far oblig'd, being in the Parliament's Service, to stand, though alone, in this Quarrel. Very well: this is a most clear and peremptory Resolution in favour of a Republick and Liberty of Conscience, a Justification of the War against the late King, a Reflexion upon the Justice of his Cause as deserted by God, and not a Word in behalf of his exil'd Son, nor any Hint as to any Design for himself, but expressly the contrary.

He did likewise, the same Day, send a short Letter to his Rival Lambert, entreating him to be an Instrument of Peace and good Understanding between the Parliament and Army: declaring his Resolution, with the Assistance of God, to stand by the Parliament, and to assert their lawful Authority; for, Sir, says he, the Nation of England will not endure any Arbitrary Power, neither will any true English-

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Englishman in the Army. Two Days after this, viz. the 22d of October, he got the Officers of his Army to write a long Letter to the other Officers at London, complaining of the Violence they had offer'd the Parliament, begging them to reconcile all Differences, expostulating with them about many Particulars, and among others appealing to their Consciences; whether the Asserting of a FREE PARLIAMENT duly qualified, to be the supreme Legislative Authority of these Nations, was not the GOOD OLD CAUSE for which they fought, as that only which in Spirituals vindicated their Consciences from Impostions, and in Civils vindicated their Persons, Estates, and Posterity, from the Usurpations of the late King. After much more to this purpose, they ask their Brethren, whether if, upon this occasion of their Dissentings, the COMMON ENEMY shou'd arise with a stronger Party, and make use of their Divisions to yoke them in Bondage worse than ever (that their little Finger shou'd be heavier than the Loins of those that preceded them) the People of these Nations wou'd not have sad Cause to leave at their Doors the Blood of those Innocents they must sacrifice to their Cruelty? To this Letter the Officers at Whitehall sent an Answer to justify their own Proceedings, and to persuade their Brethren in Scotland, if possible, to a Coalition with them: but these made a Reply that gave 'em little Hope or Satisfaction, reproaching them, that for the apparent Interest of nine or ten Persons (who, how considerable soever, cou'd not be worth the Blood that might be shed in this Quarrel) they had put a new Force upon the Parliament, and destroy'd all lawful Authority in the three Nations.

Monk, in the mean time, was so far from agreeing with the Army in England, that he committed their Agent Cobbet close Prisoner to the Castle of Edenborough and was from that Moment getting all things in readiness to march for London; where the general Opinion was, that his Obligations to Cromwell ceasing with his Death, it was more likely he might be seduc'd by the exil'd King, than that he wou'd submit to any Man then in Authority. However, the Committee of Safety

not quite despairing of him (just like the Game between Sir Roger and his old Friends) thought fit to apply to him once more, and so dispatch'd his Wife's Brother Clarges, and also Colonel Talbot, as Persons they thought might be grateful to him; and these wrote back on the fourth of November, that General Monk had accepted their Overtures of Mediation, and had appointed Wilks, Clobery, and Knight, to repair to London, as his Commissioners to treat with a like Number of Officers there, for a firm Peace and Unity amongst the Forces of both Nations. Monk wrote a Letter with these, in the Nature of Credentials, to Fleetwood, tho his Design was only to amuse him. When the Committee of Safety had order'd Clarges and Talbot for Scotland, they sent after them on the same Errand two Independent Ministers in the Name of all the rest; and Monk, in the most obliging Terms acknowledg'd the Favour, in a Letter he wrote back to the Body of the Independent Ministers, whom he stiles his Honoured and Dear Friends; Expressions us'd not very long since by Sir Roger, to some Dissenting Ministers, who made Application to him for what was promis'd but never perform'd. I doubt not, says Monk in his Letter, but you have receiv'd Satisfaction of our Inclination to a peaceable Accommodation, and do hope, that, some Difficulties being united, we shall obtain a fair Composure. I do assure you, that the great things which have been upon my Heart to provide for, are our Liberties and Freedoms, as we are the Subjects and Servants of Jesus Christ, which are convey'd to us in the Covenant of Grace, assur'd in the Promises, purchased for us by the Blood of our Saviour, and given as his great Legacy to his Churches and People; in comparison of what we esteem all other Things as Dung and Dross, but as they have relation to, and Dependance upon this most noble End. What think you, my Lord? cou'd Sir Roger himself act his Part better? Such canting he esteems cunning, but we know it to be a horrid Profanation of the sacred Name of God. To go on with Monk, The other part, pursues he, are our Laws and Rights, as Men, which must have their Esteem in the second place, and for which many Members

bers of the Churches have been eminent Instruments to labour in Sweat and Blood for these eighteen Years last past, and our Ancestors many hundred Years before ; the Substance of which may be reduc'd to Parliamentary Government, and the People consenting to the Laws by which they are to be govern'd. That this Privilege of our Nations may be so bounded, that the Churches may have both Security and Encouragement, is my great Desire, and of those with me. After more of this Strain, I conclude, says he, with the Words of David, 1 Sam. 25. 32. Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, and blessed be your Advice, and blessed be you all. Now the Lord be a Wall of Fire round about you, and let his Presence be in his Churches, and they fill'd with his Glory.

At this very time the Royal Party in Scotland perceiv'd themselves to be favour'd by him, tho not trusted ; nor ought it to be any wonder he did not confide in them, who were the most sanguin Blabs in the World, when he wou'd not trust his own younger Brother, a Divine in Devonshire, that at the Desire of Sir Hugh Pollard, Sir John Greenvill, and some other Cavaliers, and having Instructions from the exil'd King himself (as you find it in Clarendon's foresaid sixteenth Book) had waited upon the General in Scotland, under the pretence of a Visit : but he soon dismiss'd him, to use the Words of my Author, without discovering to him any Inclination to the Businesse he came about, advising him to return no more to him with such Propositions. The exact Carriage of Sir Roger towards some of his nearest Relations, as one had it from their own Mouths. It appears however very plainly from hence, that Application was made from the King to Monk before ever he left Scotland ; nor does my Lord Clarendon conceal, that the King held such a secret Correspondence with some principal Officers in his Army, that it is presum'd, says he, they wou'd undertake no such perillous Engagement without his Privity and Connivance : and I have, besides this, a Letter to produce under Monk's own Hand to the King, dated from Edenborough, wherein he makes him an Offer of his Service, and lays down the Plan of his intended Proceeding ; but I shall alledge it more to the purpose somewhat lower, after I have given

ven a full Account of his yet unparalleled Disimulation and Treachery. The Issue, I hope, will be very different, my Lord : and 'tis in order to render it so, according to my bounden Duty, that I comply with your Lordship's Desire in giving a Relation so particularly circumstantiated ; knowing the solid Interest you deservedly possess in your August Master's Breast, and the great Influence you have of course in his Ministry and Councils, which at a proper Juncture may be of the last Importance to the House of Hanover, that is, to *England*, to *Europe*, to the whole World.

I told your Lordship before, that the Fleet had declar'd for the *Rump Parliament* ; and no sooner had they done so, but they sent Advice of the same to *Monk*, whose Conduct did not seem very clear to them, as they honestly particularize in their Letter to him. He sent an Answer to this Letter from *Edenborough*, on the 29th of November, directed to Vice-Admiral *Goodson*, to be communicated to the rest of the Officers of the Fleet. He endeavours to clear himself from what he calls their Misapprehensions, referring them to certain Papers enclos'd, which will fully satisfy you (says he) that we cannot comply with such violent and unwarrantable Undertakings, both against our Reason as Men, and against our Consciences as Christians ; that you and we shou'd take our Commissions and Pay from the Parliament, and yet to violate their Authority after such solemn Assurances of Obedience and Faithfulness, contrary to the express Word of God, and our own late Addresses. I hope (continues he) I am so well known to some of you, that I am none of those that seek for great Things for my self. And as to your Proposals (says he somewhat lower) you are pleas'd to intimate the Joy of the Cavaliers, that they see us stand to our Declaration : but I believe that this violent Interruption of the Parliament was the greatest Courtesy to gratify that Family and Interest, that cou'd be imagin'd in the World, and I cou'd wish it were not design'd. I shou'd be very sad to strengthen the Friends of the Wicked : but let me assure you this ariseth from the Slanders and Calumnies which Men cast upon us (right Roger again) as if we that assert the Authority of those

those that brought the late King to the Block, are for introducing that Family, which, I take God to witness, we in our very Thoughts abhor, and shall spend our Blood in opposition to any single Person whatsoever. I have taken care (says he a great deal lower) by Garrisons in this Country, and Assurance from the whole Body of the Nation, that they will not own the Interest of Charles Stuart, and that they will preserve the Peace of the Commonwealth in obedience to the Parliament. So that if that part of the Army in England will set up a distinct Interest in the Nation, in deserting that CAUSE that hath been so precious to us, and cost so much Blood and Treasure, for to establish their own Interest and Greatnes: I do declare in the Presence of the Great God, I cannot own you, nor join with them. Now having open'd my Heart to you, and as you know my Plainness and Sincerity, that I am none of those that dare assert any thing against my Conscience; from what Experience ye have had of me I heartily beg your Belief and Credit, that I shall keep in the way of Duty, and endeavour to do the Lord's Work in my Generation, and shall not own any corrupt Interest whatsoever: and do desire of God his Blessing according to my Integrity in this Undertaking, having this good Testimony in my own Spirit, that I have nothing but publick and righteous Ends upon my Heart. None of Sir Roger's Letters to your self, my Lord, none of his Assurances to the House of Hanover, none of his Proteftations to their Friends in England, are, were, or ever can be, more clearly, strongly, or pathetically expref'd: and yet his Actions (of which hereafter) do very evidently shew, that he designs as little to perform as ever Monk did, who all this time was only contriving the best Expedients to amuse the World, in order to bring about his intended Restoration.

This Letter to the Fleet was dated, as I said, on the 29th of November; and on the same Day of the following Month the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of London dispatch'd a Letter to him by their Sword-bearer as far as Morpeth, he being then on his March, in answer to another from him of the 12th of the preceding November, applauding his pious and noble Resolutions to appear

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appear at such an Exigent, to be the glorious Instrument in God's Hand, both to assert and vindicate the greatest Interest, both Civil and Religious, of these Nations. They declare, in a word, for the Parliament, which came together again on the 26th of this same December, three Days before the writing of this Letter; protesting, they shou'd persist faithfully and vigorously in the **GOOD OLD CAUSE**. Nor does there appear from the Monuments of those Times the least Reason to doubt, but that they were as hearty as he was unsincere: so possible a thing it is for one Man, having the Army, or the Treasure, or the Prerogative of a Nation at his Disposal, insensibly to lead on that same Nation from one Step to another, till he brings them at last, beyond all Power of a Retreat, tamely to suffer (and, it may be, to resolve) what at the first setting out they wou'd be apt to look upon with Contempt or Detestation: Of this we are furnish'd from History with numberless Examples, whereof no one affords us more proper Instruction (the principal End of reading History) than this now before us, that happen'd in our own Nation not threescore Years ago. This is likewise one of the dire Effects, most frequently caus'd by a single Ministry, which, if not worse than the Tyranny exercis'd by an absolute Prince, yet is far less to be born, as proceeding from a Servant and Fellow-Subject.

But something of a single Ministry before I have done. In the mean time, be pleas'd to know that Monk did not fail to send from New-castle, which he had now reach'd, an Answer, dated the 6th of January, 165⁶½, to the foregoing Letter, where for the Citizens Compliments to him of his pious and noble Resolutions, he returns them their righteous and honourable Resolutions in appearing for the Parliament. Indeed it was much in our Hopes (says he) that such a glorious City, that had redeem'd themselves from Slavery, at the Price of so much Blood and Treasure, and had been the great Instruments in the Hand of God for the carrying on the Work of Reformation, and bringing Three Nations out of the Captivity of Tyranny and Arbitrary Government, cou'd never consent to such illegal and unjust

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unjust Proceedings ; meaning the Force put upon the Parliament by the Army. Then he tells them that he chearfully joins with the Declaration they had sent enclos'd, and promises for the Army under his Command, that they shall with him, to the utmost of their Power defend the Freedom of successive Parliaments, the Liberties Spiritual and Civil of the People in these Nations, encourage in their Stations the Godly and Learned Ministers, and that they shall continue faithful in this GOOD CAUSE, that the Nations may be establish'd in a FREE COMMON WEALTH, and the Army kept in due Obedience to the Civil Authority. Some Days before this, viz. on the 29th of December, he wrote a Letter to Lenthall the Speaker, to be communicated to the rest of the Members, wherein he desires to return hearty Thanks to God, that he hath been pleas'd to own and appear for his People in such glorious Instances of Mercy and Deliverance. I bless the Lord, adds he, I never doubted of his Presence and Success in this Undertaking, being so RIGHTEOUS A CAUSE. Then he excuses himself for entring upon a Second Treaty with Lambert, after having refus'd to ratify the first Treaty which we mention'd before, and never indeed designing to conclude this last, as he roundly tells the Speaker ; but only thereby to gain time for his other Purposes, and particularly to remove his own Commissioners from London. After other Explanations of things, from their Appearances, liable to be misunderstood ; I believe, says he, that you never doubted of my persevering in those GOOD PRINCIPLES I declar'd for (much the same Expressions of Sir Roger upon a late Occasion) and that I shou'd comfortably, if the Lord had p'leas'd to frown upon us, have suffer'd in this MOST RIGHTEOUS UNDERTAKING.

Having now come as far as Leicester, he met there with the printed Copy of a Letter directed to Lenthall the Speaker from the Gentlemen of Devonshire, demanding the Admission of the Members secluded in 48, as the best Expedient for laying the Foundation of a lasting Peace. Upon this he writes an Answer to Mr. Roles, and to the rest of these his Country-men, dated the 23d

of January, wherein he excepts against this Expedient of recalling the secluded Members, for this Reason chiefly; because very many, says he, of those Members assert the Monarchical Interest, together with the Abolition of all Laws made since their Seclusion, which, I fear, upon account of Self-preservation (both of Life and Estate, as well as spiritual Liberty) will immediately involve all these Nations in most horrid and bloody War afresh, the very Apprehensions whereof, I confess, I do infinitely dread. 'Twas certainly true in Fact, that most of the secluded Members were for a Restoration, as 'tis no less certain that those who were for a Restoration, were likewise for nullifying all the Laws past in the Interregnum, unless so far as they shou'd be confirm'd in a future Parliament. This is just the Principle, 'tis the Intention, nay 'tis already come to be the Language of the Pretender's Friends; tho' the Cases be as different, as is his Title from that of Her present Majesty, whom they look upon to be no better than a Usurper, an unjust Detainer of his Right. Monk therefore did in this hypocritical Letter reason perfectly well, according to his open Professions, for the Truth of which, he had so often appeal'd to the dreadful Tribunal of the Searcher of Hearts: but yet agreeably to his secret Designs we shall see he consented, as soon as he found it practicable, to the Admission of these very Members, who either weaken'd or destroy'd all those Interests Ecclesiastical and Civil, which he foresees they wou'd in this same Letter. Never sure was Dissimulation carry'd further in this World, nor do I any longer admire that so many are of Opinion with my Lord Clarendon, that he never design'd a Restoration till he found that nothing else wou'd do: and cou'd I believe (as in Reality I do not) that Sir Roger was sincere in any one of his Protestations to the House of Hanover, I wou'd however hint a most important Lesson to him from these Proceedings; that Men by refining too much in their Expedients, or by carrying their Party-piques too far, by trusting too few, or disobliging too many, may go beyond their Depth before they are aware, and, being hurry'd at last away with the Torrent, become as infamous to Posterity as if they were actual Traitors.

I am pretty sure, my Lord, that from your admirable Skill in the Causes of *National Credit*, and from the particular Interest you have, together with other Foreigners in our *publick Funds*, you cannot but upon such an Occasion think our Condition with relation to these Funds to be very precarious and dangerous: neither do I question, but your Friend Sir Roger, makes use of this very individual Argument to quiet your Apprehensions, as if all Interests wou'd unite of Course for the Preservation of the Funds, against that single Interest that must necessarily destroy them, if it prevails. *Monk* cou'd say as much in the Letter I am now quoting, about *the Purchasers of the King's, Queen's, Prince's, Bishops, Deans and Chapters Lands, and all other forfeited Estates*; nay, by joining to these Money and Land-Considerations, the Religious Interests of the Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, and all other Sects concern'd for Liberty of Conscience, he takes upon him no less than to demonstrate the utter Impossibility of ever restoring Monarchy. You'll see he cou'd chop Logick as cleverly as *Sir Roger* is known to run Divisions in the Metaphysicks. Behold his Syllogism in terminis. *I THINK upon rational Grounds it may be taken for granted* (says he in this Letter from *Leicester*) *that no Government can be either good, peaceful, or lasting to these Nations, that doth not rationally include and comprehend the Security and Preservation of all the aforesaid Interests, both Civil and Spiritual: I mean, so far as by the Word of God they are warranted to be protected and preserved.* *IF THIS* be so, then that Government, under which we formerly were both in State and Church, viz. Monarchy, *cannot possibly be admitted for the future in these Nations, because its Support is taken away, and because its exclusive of all the former Interests both Civil and Spiritual; all of them being incompatible with Monarchical Uniformity in Church and State thus expir'd.* *THAT Government then, that is most able to comprehend and protect all Interests as aforesaid, must needs be Republick.* How well this is concluded, is none of my present Busines to determine: but the Event did quickly show, that the Argument was coin'd on purpose

to deceive, and is therefore a Fallacy.

I have nothing to do with the Order of his March, it not being my Businels to give a History of the Restoration, but only to show how little Regard he had to his Honour as a Gentleman, or his Salvation as a *Christian* (how much soever he had an eye to the Interest of his Family) in bringing about this surprising Catastrophe. All the Counties address him for a *Free Parliament* as he drew nearer to *London*, he still publickly declaring, says *Clarendon*, *That nothing shou'd shake his Fidelity to the present Parliament; yet he privately assur'd those, who he thought it necessary shou'd hope well, that he wou'd procure a Free Parliament: so that every body promis'd himself that which he most wish'd*, and never was there greater Reason to wish for some Settlement. But the *Parliament*, notwithstanding his Professions of Fidelity to them, did not think him above Temptations, and principally suspected him, as this noble Author tells us, by reason of his Civility to *Malignants*. Certainly a more cogent Reason cou'd not be alledg'd in such a Case; as in Truth, my Lord, this is one of the strongest Presumptions we have of *Sir Roger's Designs*, that he not only chuses to drink and divert himself, to cabal and intrigue with protest *Jacobites*, and others who are notoriously disaffected to the *Succession*: but that such are the only Men he loves, or courts, or countenances, the only Men he preferrs where he has the Power of doing it, and the only Men he recommends to others, as deserving any Favour. Those who are for the *Succession* by Principle or Interest, he treats as his mortal Enemies, he excludes 'em from all Trust and Preferment to the utmost of his Power, he refuses any Coalition or Associaion with them against the common Enemy, and loads 'em with the vilest Aspersions he or his Tools can devise. So far then, you'll say, he seems to be plain and above-board: yet *Sir Roger*, who dares do any thing, wou'd have all this to pass for a Mystery like the rest, nay and wou'd make a Merit of it with the House of *Hanover*, as I shall remember to explain to you before I have done. *Clarendon* further Remarks, that those of the King's Party, who had shelter'd them-

themselves in Obscurity, appear'd now abroad. This ought to have been a sufficient Indication, as it was to all discerning Men, of Monk's Designs in the King's Behalf; tho' his Tools gave out, as we learn from other Historians, that this proceeded only from his natural Lenity, or cou'd have no other politick View, but to strengthen his Interest against the *Rump*, by the Acceſſion of the *Cavaliers* to the *Republicans*: trusty Roger still.

The General enter'd the City in the Beginning of February, and on the Sixth of the same, a Chair being set for him in the Parliament-house, the Speaker gave him their Thanks; in answer to which he made an indifferent long Speech, which has been often printed, and is judiciously abstracted in *Clarendon*. But all this while I have forgot a thing extremely material, namely, the *Declaration and Engagement*, which Monk and all his Officers had subscrib'd at their coming out of *Scotland*. Here it follows *verbatim*. *I A. B. do hereby declare, that I do renounce the pretended Title of Charles Stuart, and the whole Line of the late King James, and of every other Person (as a single Person) pretending to the Government of these Nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging: and that I will by the Grace and Assistance of Almighty God, be true, faithful, and constant to this Commonwealth, against any King, single Person, and House of Peers, and every of them; and hereunto I subscribe my Name.* Will you offer, after this, my Lord, to tell me, that the *Oath of Abjuration* is like to be any Tye upon your good Friend Sir Roger? especially when we have no reason to believe, that he's a Man more scrupulous or conscientious than General Monk. No, no; we must have a more real and solid Security from others as well as from him, or good-night for ay to the *Succession*. The Mutability of some who shall be nameless, the Treachery of others who ought to be headless, the Superstition of certain silly Lay-men, and the Distinctions of several aspiring Clergy-men are too well known, to rely upon the Words or Oaths of any of 'em. The now recited *Engagement* was not thought by the *Parliament* it self, to be a sufficient

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ficient Tye upon Monk; but as a further Experiment of his Fidelity, they gave those celebrated Orders, which he punctually executed on the 9th of February, to remove the Posts and Chains of the City, and to take down the Gates and Portcullises. After this they rashly consider'd him as one lost for ever in the Opinion of the seditious Citizens, and that they themselves cou'd never be too confident of his Obedience. Yet but two Days after, this very Man became the Darling of the City, where he was entertain'd with ringing of Bells, with Bonfires, and all other Demonstrations of Joy, nay, and the Parliament was burnt in Effigie (as I may say) by what they call'd *the roasting of the Rump*.

Before he left White-Hall that Morning, which was the 11th of February, he and his Officers sent a long Letter to the Parliament, wherein they enumerate their Fears and their Hopes. Among other things they renew their former Declarations for the Vindication of the Liberties of the People, the Preservation of the Rights of their Country, the Encouragement and Protection of godly Men, as the only Establishment of the Peace of these Nations; *which Declarations (say they) made before the Lord, Angels, and Men, in the Day of our Extremity, we, as we expect the Blessing of the Lord upon our future Undertakings, cannot but still own and stand by.* They were very peremptory in requiring a new Election, proposing it as a Qualification, *that not only those, who had been actually in Arms against the Parliament may be excluded; but also such, who, in the late Wars between the King and Parliament, had declar'd their Disaffection to the Parliament.* Now, who wou'd have thought that this Man was projecting a Restoration? To most of his Officers it was still a Secret. The Bulk of the Nation was perfectly averse to it; for even those few, who joyn'd Counsels with the Royalists, did it because they wou'd rather have any Settlement than none. Yet by properly working upon the different Affections of every Party, he brought 'em all to center at last in the very thing, from which they imagin'd they were recedeing by his Means to the greatest Distance. Shou'd my Judg-
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ment of this part of the Transaction be suspected to your Lordship (for I grant the Point is extraordinary nice) yet I hope you'll pay a greater Deference to the great Clarendon. Lend Attention therefore to his Words, which very well deserve your Patience. *It may be justly said, and transmitted as a Truth to Posterity (says he) that there were very few Men, who bore a part in these Changes and giddy Revolutions, who had the least Purpose or Thought to contribute towards the King's Restoration, or who wish'd well to his Interest.* Now to what Purpose shou'd this Truth be transmited to Posterity, but that we may profit by it ? and that knowing any other such Engineer by his proper Marks, we may timely countermine his Deeds of Darkness, and defeat his most pernicious Stratagems. For my part I very readily own it, that were Sir Roger as powerful in the State, as he is popular with the Jacobites, I shou'd not look upon the Succession to be safe one Moment, till he was remov'd from all Trust and Authority.

But to return to the General, notwithstanding the unanswerable Reasons he had given above, in his Letter from Leicester, against admitting the secluded Members, he did in the Month of February call together a Committee of these same secluded Members, to confer with another Committee, that the Parliament had sent to treat with him ; and, on the 21st, having sent for all the Members of the Parliament, together with those that were before excluded, he deliver'd to them a long Declaration in writing, containing his earnest Desire of a happy Settlement, with his Plan for speedily procuring it. *And that such an Opportunity (says he) may clearly appear to be in your Hands, I thought good to assure you, and that in the Presence of God, that I have nothing before my Eyes but God's Glory, and the Settlement of these Nations upon COMMON-WEALTH FOUNDATIONS, in Pursuit whereof I shall think nothing too dear : and for my own particular (Nota bene) I shall throw my self down at your Feet, to be anything or nothing in order to these great Ends.* Now, I warrant you think he leaves them, to shuse what Settlement they shall think most convenient ; and so

so gives a Chance for restoring *Monarchy*, as the Point he drove at, and was now come to a Crisis. Nothing of all this. On the contrary he craves Permission to mind them, that the old Foundations are by God's Providence so broken, that in the Eye of Reason they cannot be restor'd but upon the Ruins of the People of these Nations, that have engag'd for their Rights in Defence of the Parliament, and the great and main Ends of the Covenant for uniting and making the Lord's Name One in the Three Nations. And also the Liberty of the People's Representatives in Parliament will be certainly lost, continues he : for if the People find, that, after so long and bloody a War against the King for breaking in upon their Liberties, yet at last he must be taken in again ; it will be out of question, and is most manifest, he may for the future govern by his Will, dispose of Parliaments and Parliament-Men as he pleases, and yet the People will never more rise for their Assistance. Not content to give these Reasons and Directions exclusive of *Monarchy*, he further, as I said, deliver'd his own Plan for a present Settlement, in order to procure one that shou'd be lasting ; that is, in his own Words, *A Commonwealth without a King, single Person, or House of Lords.*

Having thus restor'd the secluded Members that they might restore the King, he still carries on his Perjury and Dissimulation : for having nothing now to fear but the Army, and foreseeing they wou'd be cruelly alarm'd at the Admission of the secluded Members, he dispatches forthwith a circular Letter, in his own and his Officers Name, to the several and respective Regiments, and other Forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland. Now because this is the last Letter I shall quote of his to any, except one more to the King ; as well as because it contains in the most emphatick Terms, the Sum of what he had been bitherto promising and professing, together with the strongest Assurances, that he wou'd interpose with the ensuing Parliament to confirm all Sales, Purchases, and other publick Distributions or Dispositions of Lands in *England, Ireland and Scotland* : for these Reasons, I say, and for the way wherein he chuses to mention the King,

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King, I shall insert this Letter at large, as the dernier Effort of all Dissimulation. Dear Brethren and Fellow-Soldiers, you cannot be ignorant of the many Endeavours and earnest Desires of many good Men in these Nations, to bring us to a Settlement, which it hath pleased God to disappoint unto this Day, and leave us as a broken and divided People, ready to run into Blood and Confusion. Which that we might prevent so great Calamities impending, after our earnest seeking God for his Direction and Assistance, we find no Expedient so likely for the Satisfaction of the good People, and the quiet and Welfare of this Common-wealth, as the Re-admission of the secluded Members, in order to a legal Dissolution of this Parliament by their own free Consents; and to issue Writs for a future full Representative of the whole Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, under such Qualifications as may secure our Cause, to convene on the Twentieth of April next at Westminster, for the establishing this Common-wealth upon the Foundation of Justice and true Freedom. And to take away all Jealousies from you, we do assure you, that we shall join with you in the Maintenance of those Ends express'd in the enclos'd (meaning his Declaration just now cited) and do expect your cheerful Concurrence with us. And we desire to take God to Witness, that we have no Intentions or Purposes to return to our old Bondage: but since the Providence of God hath made us free at the Cost of so much Blood, we hope we shall never be found so unfaithful to God and his People, as to lose so glorious a Cause; but we do resolve, with the Assistance of God, to adhere to you in the continuing of our dear-purchas'd Liberties, both Spiritual and Civil. The Reason of our Proceedings in this manner may seem strange; but if you duly consider the Necessities of our Affairs, and the present State of things, you will certainly conclude nothing so safe to secure publick Interest, and to engage the Nations peaceably to submit to a Free State: most of these Members having given us full Assurance, that their Session in Parliament shall not be longer than absolute Necessity will require, to the putting the Government into successive Parliaments; they not being free so to act by the old Writs, as when they shall be call'd upon a Common-wealth Account. And it's the Opinion of the trust Friends to a Free State, that it cannot be consistene

with the perpetual Sitting of these Members, this being contrary to the Nature of such a Government. And as we are confident the present Parliament, now suting, will not repeal any of the Acts, Ordinances, or Orders of this Parliament, for Sales or publick Dispositions of Lands : so we shall in our Station observe, and cause to be observ'd, all other Acts and Ordinances of this Parliament whatsoever ; and humbly interpose with the next succeeding Parliament, not only to pass a further Act of Confirmation of all such Sales and Dispositions of Lands here and in Scotland, but also of all the Distributions and Dispositions of Lands and Houses in Ireland, to the Soldiery, Adventurers, or any other Persons, made by or in pursuance of any of the Acts, Ordinances, or Orders of this present Parliament, or any pretended Parliamentary Authority. And we intreat you to send up an Officer, to give to the Lord General Monk an Account of your Acquiescence with us herein. And if any disaffected Persons shall hereby take Occasion to make Disturbance of the Peace of the Common-wealth, either in Favour of Charles Stuart or any other pretended Authority, we desire you to secure them till the Pleasure of the Parliament, or Council of State, be known in that Behalf. You shall speedily receive Encouragement, and Supplies of Monies : and indeed it was not the least Motive, to induce us to this way of Composure of Affairs, that we might facilitate the raising of Monies for the Subsistence of the Army and Navy ; which would not otherwise have been done, if at all, but with Effusion of Blood. We have nothing more at this time, but to assure you that we shall ever remain, dear Brethren and Fellow-Soldiers, your very affectionate Friends. This was sign'd the 21st of February by himself, and by 27 other Officers. Nor, one wou'd think, cou'd a stronger Confirmation be express'd in Words, for the continuing of all Forfeitures, Grants, and Purchases whatsoever ; which yet, at the Restoration, came all of 'em to nothing : a very necessary Memorandum to every one directly or indirectly concern'd in the present FUNDS and GRANTS, especially THE GRANTS OF KING WILLIAM ; for those of King Charles and King James are privileg'd Grants, as we know by repeated Experience.

Most People, as Clarendon remarks, believ'd these Declarations

rations however to be sincere, and that Monk might desire to see a Common-wealth establish'd in such a Model as Holland was, where he had been bred; and that himself might enjoy the Authority and Place, which the Prince of Orange possess'd in that Government. What serv'd to confirm the World in these Sentiments, was the Parliament's ordering, at this time, that no body shou'd be trusted in the Militia, who did not first declare under his Hand, that he did confess and acknowledge, that the War rais'd by the Two Houses of Parliament against the late King, was just and lawful, until such time as Force and Violence was us'd upon the Parliament in the Year 1648. Nor was Monk less sollicitous to gain the good Opinion of particular Men, than that of the Publick, tho' fully resolv'd, like Sir Roger, to deceive both. He assur'd Lawson and Ludlow, as we are told by this last, that they must all live and die for a COMMON-WEALTH. Another time, being attended by seventeen principal Persons, whereof divers were of the Council of State, and who besought him to join with them against the exil'd King; he applied himself to Sir Arthur Hazlerig, saying, Sir Arthur, I have often declar'd to you my Resolution so to do. Then taking off his Glove, and putting his Hand within Sir Arthur's, he added; I do here protest to you, in the Presence of all these Gentlemen, that I will oppose to the utmost the setting up of Charles Stuart, a single Person, or a House of Peers. After this he began to expostulate with them touching their Suspicions, this being probably the meeting to which Allusion is made in the Memoirs relating to the Earl of Shaftsbury's Life. What is it, said he, that I have done, in bringing these Members into the House, meaning the secluded Members? Are they not the same that brought the King to the Block? though others cut off his Head, and that justly. Thus he used to talk to many others, often repeating his former Resolutions of Fighting to the Knees in Blood to oppose his Son.

The few nevertheless, who were more discerning or more experienc'd than others, and who in such cases generally happen to prove Cassandra Prophets, plainly perceiv'd his Drift by his Actions, which made them have no regard to his Protestations, among the rest

rest Whitlock and Ludlow. They consider'd whom he put in, and whom he put out of Power ; who were most likely to be Gainers by the Changes he made in the Parliament, and in all the publick Posts Civil or Military. They saw that the *Malignants* (as the King's Adherents were then call'd) did appear in a more publick Manner than they used to do, that they flock'd home from all Parts, that they were exceeding uppish in their Expectations, and that they commonly believ'd the General had a secret Correspondence with their Master. The very same thing is as commonly believed of Sir Roger by the Jacobites, and as much suspected by others. Now since he can't but know this, he shou'd, one wou'd be apt to imagine, be at some Pains to undeceive the World ; for as my Lord Clarendon (whom I love to quote) observes of Monk, the receiv'd Opinion, that he did design to serve the King, or that he would be at last obliged to do it, did really as much contribute to the Advancement of his Majesty's Service, as if he had dedicated himself to it : and the Assurance that the other Party thought they had, that he had no such Intention, hinder'd those Obstructions, Jealousies and Interruptions, which very probably might have lessen'd his Credit with his own Army, or united all the rest of the Forces against him. But Monk's Deportment was so visible to some (as I hope Sir Roger's will be shortly to all) that Harry Martin in the Parliament-House, resembled him to one, who being sent for to make a Suit of Cloaths, brought with him a Budget full of Carpenters Tools ; and being told, that such things were not at all fit for the Work he was desir'd to do, he answer'd, *It matters not, I will do your Work well enough, I warrant you.* I leave your self to judge, My Lord, if this be not the exact Picture of Sir Roger, towards whose Epitaph (whatever Death he dies) I shall furnish this Sentence, *That he never said a plain thing, nor ever did an honest thing.*

After all those Letters and Passages I have had the Honour thus to lay before you, I am not a whit surpriz'd, as I said above, that so many worthy Men shou'd be persuad'd, with my Lord Clarendon, that Monk did never intend a Restoration till the very last, as the only good thing he had left to do ; and since it is hard to conceive how

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how any Man cou'd arrive at so monstrous a Pitch of Hypocrisy, I shou'd have been of the same Opinion my self, tho' the Majority of Writers, and the common vogue are express enough to the contrary. But notwithstanding my Lord *Clarendon* affirms, that the General wrote nothing to the King from *London*; yet (which determines the Matter at once, and which determin'd me) I have a Letter he sent the King from *Edenborough*, just upon his March into *England*; and I believe it was carry'd by the Gentleman that *Ludlow* affirms was sent to him into *Scotland* by the King. It is not a little remarkable, that this Letter contains in Substance the very same *Propositions* which my Lord *Clarendon* acknowledges *Monk* had sent the King, in a verbal Message, by Sir *Richard Greenville*. Among other things *Monk* directly proposes a General Pardon without any Exceptions, he insinuates an *Establish'd Church* with *Liberty of Conscience*; he demands a Declaration of what Satisfaction shall be made to the poor Soldiers, and desires the King may consent to a Treaty with a free Parliament. *I question not*, says he, *but your Majesty is very well knowing of the Power which for some few Years past, I have had in Governing the English Army here in Scotland; which Power when I had once obtain'd, I did resolve (as much as in me lay) to keep, until a fit time and Opportunity should offer it self, that I might employ it for the Glory of God, and the Good of your Majesty, whose faithful Subject I humbly acknowledge my self to be.* A little lower he says again to the King, *I had never a better Opportunity of doing my Country Service (in freeing them from their Egyptian Bondage, as I may term it) and in restoring the Crown to the right Owner thereof; which, if possible to be done, shall be done with as much Care, Safety, and Diligence, as God shall enable me, and that with as little wrong as may be, either to King or Subject.* Since he trusted so few, he cou'd not but foresee the King wou'd receive various Impressions of him, and therefore he gives him a necessary Caution once for all, in the Conclusion of this Letter. *I shall trouble your Majesty (says he) with little more at present, but to let you know that my Hopes are, that you would be pleas'd to have that Confidence in me, as*

not to credit any Rumours or Reports, that may seemingly contradict what I have herein propos'd ; for, as for that, I would have your Majesty to be confident, that I shall not value neither the Ill-will, nor yet look upon the Favour of any, who shall appear in Opposition to a thing that I have so really purpos'd ; so long as God and my Conscience persuades me (I wonder what God or Conscience he means) that in so doing I shall accomplish a Good Work, both for his Glory and my Country's Good. And yet I think fit, to carry as fair a Correspondence as I can, with those that have taken upon them the Authority in England. To that end I have Thoughts of going to London suddenly, that I may see their Actings, and order Things there somewhat for my Advantage. If this Letter be genuine (as I have no Reason to suspect the contrary) then it will only follow, that either my Lord Clarendon did not know every thing, or wou'd not tell all he knew : and if it shou'd be spurious (as possibly it may) yet since all the rest of the Letters are incontestably authentick, so Monk's Dissimulation, Treachery, and Perjury, are like to remain unparalleled in History ; for I have good Hope, my Lord, that every wise and generous Briton, scorning to be bubbl'd or brib'd by Sir Roger, will quickly lay aside their insignificant Piques, and all unite for the Preservation of their RELIGION and LIBERTY, which entirely depend (under God) upon maintaining the SUCCESSION, as it is establish'd by so many Laws in the most serene Electoral House of HANOVER.

Thus, my Lord, have I stated this Case of Monk with the utmost Impartiality ; and tho' I am still of Opinion, that he never design'd to make himself KING, yet I shall be far from suppressing any Evidence that may serve to strengthen my Lord Shaftsbury's Story. I do therefore further acquaint you, that I have now before me a Pamphlet printed in the very Year of this Transaction, 1659, for W.Godbid, in the Street call'd Little Britain. It is entitled, *The PEDEGREE and DESCENT of his Excellency Gen. GEORGE MONK* ; setting forth how he is Descended from K. EDWARD III. by a Branch and Slip of the White Rose, the House of York ; and likewise his Extraction from RICHARD, King of the Romans, &c. But this pompous

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potis Title comes to no more in the End, than that *Monk* was descended from the second Daughter of *Arthur Plantagenet*, who was himself no more than the Natural Son of *Edward IV.* by his Concubine the Lady *Eliz. Lucy*; so that the utmost his Flatterers cou'd say amounted only to this, that *Monk* had in his Veins Royal Blood good or bad, Royal Blood of some sort or other, and such prostitute Pick-thanks we know are never wanting to Men in Power of any kind. As this Descent then gave the General no manner of Title in the World, so the Preface of the Pamphlet, and the concluding Words of the same (needless to be here inserted) have fully convinc'd me, that the Author intended no more than a Complement to him by the way, while his real Design was to prove the Title of the *STUARTS*, whom he perceiv'd the other was going about to restore. Be this however as it will, I doubt not but *Sir Roger* has (on his part) a Pedegree ready drawn out, and most gorgeously blazon'd, he being so renown'd an Antiquary himself, and having so many Herald's now at his Devotion. But he agrees still much better with his Cousin *Monk*, in practising the **ART OF RESTORING**; that is, to stick at nothing sacred or civil, to sacrifice his Religion, to sell his Country, to betray Friends and Allies, to abandon Faith, Honour, Justice (and indeed what Virtue does he not?) merely to raise himself and his Family at any rate: and therefore, the last four Lines of an *Epitaph* privately stuck upon the Monument of *Monk*, a little after the erecting of it, will in time do every whit as well for *Sir Roger*; tho' tis observable how soon the Family of the first (O Vanity of short-sighted Man!) was cut off from the Face of the Earth, and is now almost out of the Memory of Men.

Here lies GEORGE MONK,

Close by his Punk:

He did a great thing,

Made a Duke and a King.

This Truth he verifies,

That whoever will rise,

Must be content to have KNAVE

Writ on his Grave.

I will not answer, that there was not a Couplet more towards

wards the middle, having only receiv'd these Lines by o-
ral Tradition.

But our Business now, it seems, must be, to prevent Sir Roger's making a King, how richly soever he may deserve a Dukedom for his unwearied Endeavours to succeed in the Attempt : for can you, my Lord, to whom his Person, his Mien, his Elocution, and his Address are so well known, (not all of 'em capable to engage the Heart of a Chamber-maid) can you, I say, imagine, that any thing could so powerfully recommend him to the Men of the PRETENDER's Party, or so wondrously endear him to the Favour of their Women, but his desperate Undertaking to set aside the *HANOVER SUCCESSION*? for which his Tricking and Dissimulation, his Pride and Ambition, do qualify him above all others. What others, some durst not, some wou'd not, that Sir Roger has lustily promis'd. This is the true, and consequently the only Key, to what appear'd so profound a Mystery to you before; and not to you only, but to almost every one else in *Europe*. Nay, Sir Roger (were there no other Motive to spur him but the Examples he admires in Antiquity) would be ready enough for such a Turn, that shou'd make him the Song and Fable of all Posterity ; as I am perswaded he will go on in his Endeavours to bring in *Popery*, shou'd it be for no other Reason, but to shew he can singly accomplish what prov'd impossible for the two Royal Brothers. These Dispositions, with his particular Engagements in favour of the *Pretender*, have gain'd him the entire Confidence of all that Creature's Friends and Adherents, of which we have now more Reasons than ever to rest fully satisfied: We hear this out of their own Mouths, we see it confirm'd by his Actions. Out of their own Mouths, you'll say ? Ay, my Lord, out of their own Mouths in the directest words: for they seem to be now grown above all Fears, above all that the Queen or her Ministers can do to them. We are alarm'd, we are uneasy, we are amaz'd, in short, at the daily Resort of *Outlaws* and *Papists*, from all Parts beyond the Seas, especially from *France*, some of 'em having been concer'n'd in the barbarous *Affassination-Plot*. Tis inexpressible with what Boldness these and the *Nonjurors* declare

clare themselves against the present Settlement of the Crown, tho it be High-Treason so to do, either by Word or by Writing. I cou'd send you above twenty Books written against the *Hanover Succession* within these three Years, for which not one Man has suffer'd ; besides two most scurrilous abusive Pamphlets against the Elector's Person, on the score of his truly prophetick *Memorial*, of which another time ; for 'tis no more forgot by good *Englishmen* than King William's last Speech, another remarkable Prophecy.

Written and Printed *Characters* of the Pretender are sent over to certain trusty Agents, whose sole Business is to shew and disperse them. I shall not insist on his *Pictures* and *Prints* innumerable, but only observe that the very same Method was used before the last *Restoration*. The most noted Champions of Sir Roger in Coffee-houfes and other Places of publick Resort, are *Irish Papists* and *Scottish Jacobites* ; who, when they perceive their Encomiums, and much more their Apologies, to become Matter of Laughter or Contempt to the Company, are ready to avenge themselves in the Quality of *Bullies* or *Informers*. Good God ! that we shou'd live to see this Vermin once more infest our Streets and Palaces ; nor surely cou'd we live, but in the Hopes of seeing 'em likewise once more sent a packing out of the World or the Kingdom. *English Pensioners* do ordinarily content themselves with their Pay for doing their Drudgery. You may infallibly distinguish this Tribe by their perpetual Invectives against *Foreigners*, by which, all the while, they only mean the *Dutch* and the *Germans* ; these, on account of the *Hanover Succession*, those for the sake of King *William*, whose Legacy they incessantly curse. The Windows of the best *Protestants* (for you'll always remember, that we have agreed to talk without Reserve of RELIGION, as it makes a Part of our several Constitutions, and without which, considering its Influence in that Respect, we cou'd never have right Information) our Windows, I say, are broke, and our Persons insulted, for celebrating the Memory of King *William* on the 4th, and our double Deliverance from *Popery* on the 5th of November. Letters are known to be intercepted, wherein the Pretender, in order to engage the *Clergy* to his Interest, promises to render the

Church independent on the State : a thing he knows an ignorant, corrupt, aspiring Party here does covet above all things ; and wherein he's certainly most sincere, as it paves the Way for his own Religion. The *Protestants of Ireland*, however divided with relation to the Subordination or Parity of *Gospel-Ministers*, yet were always united against their Common Enemies the *Papists*, without splitting on the Distinction of *Whig* and *Tory*, till Sir Roger sent thither his Incendiaries, who have enflam'd and exasperated them against each other to the highest Degree of Rage. The one is an impudent pettifogging *Lawyer*, *P* ; the other a profligate Libertine *Parson*, *H* : both notorious for their Enmity to the *Succession*. Add to all this the prodigious Insolence of the *Jacobites* and *Papists* at the late Elections, the unheard of Extravagancies (whereof Mobbing was the least) that they practis'd in assisting with their Votes those who were in the last *Parliament* for the *Bill of Commerce* ; and you'll agree, my Lord, that therefore they expect something more than that *Bill* (destructive as it is) from those Gentlemen in this *Parliament*, wherein, I am confident, they'll find themselves egregiously deceiv'd.

I have nothing to say of any Man in Power, whether in *Britain* or *Ireland* ; because the Queen has solemnly promis'd her People three Years ago, that she would employ none who was not zealous for the *House of Hanover* : and therefore 'tis to be presumed, by all good Subjects, that those who are preferr'd, especially in *Scotland*, after having been for so many Years *Nonjurors*, several of 'em actually in *France*, are as heartily reconcil'd to the *Succession* as to their *Places*. That the Queen has had Assurances of this we doubt not : but Sir Roger (begging your Pardon, my Lord, for naming him with the Queen) makes a Merit at *Hanover*, as I told you above, of those whom he has in his peculiar Province perswaded to take the *Oaths*, to enable 'em the better to serve the *Pretender*. How can I be with any Reason suspected, says he, of favouring any Tute but yours, after having prevail'd with so many *Jacobites* to abjure ? But the Reason is, and a better Reason can never be given nor desir'd, that neither his Actions nor theirs, do any way correspond to their *Abjuration*. This has mov'd me to write this long Letter

to your Lordship, that you may know for the future how to govern your self with Regard to Sir Roger, and that you might see, how in THE ART OF RESTORING he exactly copies General Monk ; yet still with these Differences, that Sir Roger's timely discover'd, and so I hope effectually prevented ; that Monk from Anarchy and Usurpation restor'd our Legal Church and Government, while Sir Roger would change this admirable Constitution into Popery and Slavery, by Englishmen never to be endur'd ; that out of Evil Monk brought forth Good, when Sir Roger would turn our greatest Good into all that is Evil : for I wou'd have you still carry this Rule in your Mind, that how much soever I disprove the wicked Methods us'd by the General, yet that none can be better pleas'd with the happy Settlement which (by an over-ruling Providence) was the Effect thereof, and which I hope will last as long as the World, in an uninterrupted Succession of truly Protestant Princes, no less zealous to preserve the Liberties, than to encrease the Riches of their Subjects, from which to themselves will unavoidably accrue Heroick Praise, unenvy'd Power, and matchless Glory.

You cannot now expect, my Lord, after so much as I have written already, that I shou'd this Post send you much News ; nor in particular what I have discover'd concerning the Minister of Lorain's Negotiations, or his frequent Journeys during the Treaty of Utrecht, and for some time before. All that Matter's in good Hands. Neither have I leisure to give you the Satisfaction you desire, why the Pretender's DECLARATION at the Time of the late Invasion, was never publish'd, nor why the Whig and Tory Ministers have never thought fit (how much soever exasperated) to charge one another with having encourag'd the said Invasion. You say, and I cannot deny it, that from the Beginning of the World, there is no Instance where a Country has been actually invaded, and several of the Natives taken in the Fact, yet that neither they, nor any one of their Accomplices, were brought to suffer for the same. All these Instances, and the suppressing of the material Part of Baily's Conspiracy (which I see you have not forgot) proceed from the same individual Cause ; and to be sure, is one of those Secrets not fit to be publish'd to the Vulgar. In reality they are very few who know this Secret hitherto.

As for the *French* King's forbidding any of the *Refugees* settl'd here, tho' naturaliz'd, to travel into *France* upon any Pretence or Occasion, without his special Pass, under the Penalty of being sent to the Gallies ; there's nothing more true, nor, you may believe, more surprizing : especially, when this *Declaration* does further comprehend the Children born to them in this Kingdom, and by *English* Fathers or Mothers, which may with as much reason be extended to all *Englishmen* whatsoever. What does an *Act* of *Naturalization* signify at this rate ? of what profit or advantage ? And what is treating our Nation with the utmost Contempt, if this be not so ? What ! must *Englishmen* born be prohibited travelling into *France* in Time of Peace about their lawful Affairs ? Yet mistake me not, my Lord, as if I wou'd charge this, which has happen'd since, upon the last Peace, how little soever I like it : but if such a daring Indignity and Injustice be tamely born with, be suffer'd on any consideration whatsoever (as in the nature of things it is impossible it shou'd) then I promise you I shall be one of the first that will own, what some of late have been too apt to say of us, that we have no Honour nor Honesty left, no Regard to our Rank or Interest, either at home or abroad. Even the Usurper *Oliver* had the Reputation of *England* so much at heart, and pretended so great Zeal for the *Protestant* Religion, that he did (as my Lord *Clarendon*, who commends him for it, observes) obtain Liberty of Conscience for the *Vaudois*, with Impunity for those of the Religion at *Nismes* in *Languedoc* ; and this in a Stile that wou'd brook no Denial. Besides all this, my Lord, it cannot be deny'd how much we are beholding to these very *Refugees* in particular, not only as to the great *Number* and *Riches* they have brought among us ; their setting up of several new *Manufactures*, and the improving of more old ones ; their Industry in *Merchandizing*, and their serving with so much Fidelity and Courage in our *Fleets* and *Armies* : but likewise as to the immense Sums, both of their own and of their Correspondents abroad, they have ever readily advanc'd towards our publick *Loans*, and all other *Funds* whereby the Government was to be supported. In such cases they were observ'd to have been generally the first to offer,

fer, and consequently the greatest Riskers, as well as the greatest Encouragers. For this hearty Zeal in behalf of the Revolution, for those Principles of *Civil and Religious Liberty* they cannot conceal, it is, that the *French King* is so much enrag'd against them, and that we shou'd for this very same Reason (had we any *Politicks left*) be proportionably fond of them. I must needs bear 'em this Testimony, my Lord, as having had many Opportunities to know them thoroughly, that, in the Sense wherein we boast of being *Englishmen*, they are better than a World of our Natives, and as good as any: nor, if you except three or four *mercenary Rascals* of as mean Origine as Understandings (which in numerous Societies is unavoidable) have there been so few Cowards or Traytors in any such Number of Men. This sure ought to be none of our Motives for hating *Foreigners*: and this very Consideration, I frankly own, cannot but raise my Indignation, when, on the one hand, I see *Monsieur la Roche*, one that long serv'd the late Prince *George*, one of the Queen's domestick Servants, having her Secretaries Pass and her own Permission, deny'd to breath a little *Air for his Health* in his native Country; and when, on the other hand, I see (as I have often done) Sir P—— L——, an *Irish Papist*, one that has born Arms against Her *Majesty* for several Years, the Person that seiz'd, and but too probably murder'd our Friend the Duke of *Medina Celi*, one upon whom the Pr—t—der (his former if not his present Master) relies the most of all that bigotted Nation: I am highly provok'd, I repeat it, when I see this same Man, not only permitted to live quietly in E——d, but to resort daily to a certain Place under a Character no way pleasing.

I am charm'd, my Lord, with your Reason for desiring me to send you no more of our Pamphlets relating to the *Bill of Commerce*, which is a Subject so self-evident, you say, in *Austria*, that you wonder it shou'd bear any Dispute in *England*, and much more that it shou'd be offer'd to be cramm'd (as it were) down the Peoples Throats. Nor will I, on my part, say any thing on this Point at present, only give me leave to present you with a few prophetick Passages out of a Book that was publish'd by Authority so long ago as the Year 1668. It bears

bears this Approbation in the Frontispiece. *Whiteball,*
the 21 Jan. 1667. Let this Discourse be printed. By the Appointement of the Right Hon. the Lord Arlington, his Majesties principal Secretary of State, Joseph Williamson. The Title is, *A free Conference touching the present State of England both at home and abroad, in order to the Designs of France;* and it was certainly written by a great Minister, during that little Interval of the *Triple League*, when the King happen'd to be in the Interest of his People, and seem'd to have wholly shaken off his shameful Dependance upon *France*. In the 50th Page, *I agree*, says the Author, *to what hath been said before very prudently in this Conference, that our Power and Greatnes doth principally consist in the Matter of Commerce:* and therefore I conclude even from thence by an unerrable consequence, that *Commerce* ought to be the chief Object of our Jealousy, and that we are bound to be as tender of the *Conservation* of this Benefit as of the *Apples of our Eyes*. But then we must look far off, how to prevent whatsoever may hinder the *Progress* of *Trade*, or diminish the abundance of this *Commerce*. We have nothing to fear in this particular on the account of Spain, which applies little towards Traffick [as it then stood] and leaveth almost all the *Advantages* thereof freely to the English in their own proper Ports. But if this Interest should fall into the Power of an industrious and active Nation, and a People covetous of Gain, as the French are [Hear, hear, O Britons!] we are not to expect any Share of the Utility, or to partake with France therein: but rather that they will prescribe the Law of Commerce unto the English according to their own Will and Pleasure. Cou'd there be any thing, my Lord, more clear or decisive? Is not the Interest of Spain fallen at last into the Power of *France*? and do not the French openly prescribe to us the *Law*, alias, the *Bill of Commerce*? But nevertheless I ought to be as sure as there are Englishmen in the World, that this *Bill* (however new cook'd) will never pass into a *Law*, since the same Author assures us in the 60th Page, that the Interest of Commerce no way invites us to take part with France; and this Truth, continues he, is so notorious to all the People of England, that there is no Eloquence able to persuade them contrary to their own Experience therein. I wish he cou'd have said, nor any thing more prevailing than Eloquence.

'Tis

The first, says he in Page 59, that the English should be disengag'd once for all by being better inform'd, since France is so far from being assisting or useful to us upon this Conjunction, that, in truth, they do seek only to increase our Divisions and Troubles: for 'tis both their Interest and Maxim so to do, which Conduct hath been exactly and hereditarily observ'd in their Councils for many Ages together (and newly in the last Civil Wars here) since all the Baits which they do present among us, are but so many Apples of Discord, which the French Emissaries cast up and down among us, purposely to embroil us with our Neighbours, or else with one another. Pag. 52. We shall quickly find ourselves taken for Persons deluded in this Negotiation, and France only gather all the Fruits of the Conference; of which the Shame of having been so grossly cheated can only remain to us, when the whole World discerns, that the Desire of Prey [that is, of Pensions] hath prevail'd with England [that is, with the then Ministers, for England abhor'd it] above the Faith of those solemn Treaties which we have made with the Crown of Spain. Page 62. On the account of France we shall appear but as little Accessories, and the French will carry us on (as the first Motion) only according to the Rapidity of their Progress, by applying us meerly in the Course of their Game to their own Ends: and thus shall we become the Ministers of their Ambition, and be made use of like a Pair of Stairs (on which they do mean to tread) in order to their obtaining the Universal Monarchy. Page 56. I do not see what Measures we can take at this Time with France, nor what Assurances or Precautions the French may give us in a Treaty, so as to shelter England from the Danger of that known Maxim of theirs, which is, in all Confederations to be bound by no other Rule but their Interest meerly. I avow, that the Rupture of the Pyrenean Treaty frigbiens me [What wou'd he have said to the Treaty of Ryswick, or the Partition Treaty?] and the Remembrance of their Proceeding held with us heretofore, throughout all the Course of our late War with Holland, hath made me so incredulous, that they must shew me many Miracles, and evident ones too, before I shall be converted to have the least good Opinion of the Sincerity of their Faith and Dealing.

I shall trouble your Lordship but with one Passage more, seeing the whole Book deserves to be reprinted, as well as the Baron d' Isola's Buckler of State and Justice, Europe a Slave unless England break her Chains, with such other seasonable Pieces: and the Passage I am going to cite does absolutely convince me, notwithstanding all that's past, that England, that the Empire, that Europe is undone, if a Prince of the House of Bourbon, or any French Prince whatsoever, continues in possession

session of Spain and the Indies. *The Affinity of Blood, Religion, and the Hopes which the Most Christian King may found to himself upon the Succession to this Monarchy, if the Renunciation of the Queen once comes to be annul'd* (says our Author in his 53d Page) are strong Links that may very well unite them [France and Spain] together: and the Principle of the Division which is at present betwixt them, having no other Foundation but reciprocal Jealousy touching the Equality of their Power, this Emulation will expire as soon as ever that France doth see Spain in a Condition to be no longer able to dispute the Sovereign Arbitrage of Christendom with them; and the Cause of their Hatred being taken away, all the Effects thereto will cease likewise. And then the common Interests of both will unite them in a Bond, which is inseparable any more, from whence our Ruin must infallibly arise, because the Substance and Surety of England solely depends upon the Emulation of these two Powers, as the Temperament of a human Body consists in the Opposition of the elementary Qualities.

I must put off, my Lord, to another Time what I intended to write about the Causes and Symptoms of a Single Ministry, with its ever malignant and often mortal Effects. All the Nation is now at a gaze, and stand prepared to learn their Fate, from what shall be transacted this Winter, first, about the Bill of Commerce, which is indeed the very last Stroke for France or for England; next with relation to a traitorous Book in Folio, expressly written against her Majesty's own Title, as well as that of the House of Hanover, entitul'd, *The Hereditary Right of the Crown of England asserted*, from which Prosecution we shall judge what's to become of the Succession; and, thirdly, with what Temper we shall behold the Progress of the French in Germany, the Designs of Philip of Anjou (that is still of the French) against Portugal and Brasse, and the unworthy Treatment we our selves have ungratefully receiv'd from both Lewis and Philip, in divers Particulars. This is a long-winded Letter, you'll say, begun in August, and hardly ended in October; but that's a small Matter, provided it does not tire you: And if you shou'd happen to shew it by Mistake, to any of Sir Roger's Spies or Sycophants lurking about your Court, I desire you wou'd be no more concern'd than I am sure not to be my self, about any perverse Application they may make of the Contents, or their scurrilous Usage of the Writer in expectation of Pence or Places; for you shall never find me losing my Time upon such Tools, who are at full liberty to say, to report, to invent, to rant and rave as they please. Their Language is understood by every body, and therefore minded by no body that I wou'd have mind what I write. I am, my Lord, your, &c.

F I N I S.



